

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

CONTINUING

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RELATING TO CANADA*

(Founded at the University of Toronto in 1896)

VOLUME XXXIII, 1952

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SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, WILFRID LAURIER, AND
LIBERAL PARTY TRADE POLICY, 1887

W. R. GRAHAM

THE periodic agitations in favour of some kind of closer trade relations with the United States have done much to relieve the legendary dullness of Canadian politics. Such agitations have often enlivened Canada's historic tight-rope walk between Washington and Whitehall. It is at these times that the game of politics in Canada has been played with the greatest zest and Canadian politicians have been inspired to their grandest flights of eloquence. The subject of trade is not one which quickens pulses and raises blood pressures in most lands. But Canadians have seldom been content to discuss commercial relations with the United States on their merits alone. All kinds of seemingly extraneous issues are injected into the stream of discussion until cold considerations of economics are lost in the welter of words—loyalty, king, empire, nationhood, "A British subject I was born . . .," "No truck nor trade. . . ." The traditions, the sentiments, the loyalties—and the markets—which Great Britain has offered have somehow prevented a complete Canadian surrender to the lure of the Republic's glittering wealth.

It was during one such campaign for a closer economic integration of Canada and the United States that Sir Richard Cartwright enjoyed his brief moment of paramount influence in the Liberal party. If he is remembered for anything aside from his improbable whiskers and his uniquely passionate hatred of Sir John A. Macdonald, it is for his prominence in the commercial union movement in the late 1880's and early 1890's. Curiously enough, although Cartwright was a cabinet minister for half of his nearly forty years as a leading Liberal, his name is associated less with specific legislation than with a variety of lost causes which he supported with a fierce and persistent energy. As more than one of his contemporaries remarked, he was at his best in opposition. It could hardly be claimed that the idea of a commercial union between the United States and Canada was the creature of his mind but it is a fact that he was instrumental in securing its inclusion, in the supposedly modified form of unrestricted reciprocity, in the Liberal party platform and that his name was more often linked with the scheme than that of any other Canadian politician.

I

The genesis of the commercial union movement of the 1880's is obscure. The idea of reciprocity between the two countries had never died after the abrogation by the United States of the treaty of 1854, and Conservatives as well as Liberals were officially wedded to it in some shape or form. Fundamentally, of course, the agitation of the 1880's emerged out of the unhappy realities of an economic depression and it was these grim economic circumstances which gave it its wide popularity. However, the actual source of the tremendous propaganda for commercial union which burgeoned in the middle of the decade is difficult to determine. Erastus Wiman, a Canadian who had prospered in the United States, was by many reputed to be its father. Wiman was not at all reluctant to accept this honour, though he generously disclaimed sole credit. In a letter written in 1896 he referred to "the movement for commercial union between the two countries, which, with Goldwin Smith, I had the honor of originating."¹ There can hardly be any doubt that Smith was one of the authors of the campaign for he regarded commercial union as a desirable first step in the direction of annexation. Indeed, he was already advocating an economic union of North America as early as the 1870's.² Skelton was skeptical, however, of Wiman's authorship. He claimed that Wiman "took the idea from an American capitalist interested in Canadian ores, Samuel Ritchie, and his legal adviser, Hezekiah Butterworth, then a member of Congress."³ Ritchie's prominence in the movement is beyond dispute, though it can scarcely be demonstrated that he originated the idea. A well-known Ohio Republican, he owned certain nickel and copper deposits and was, as well, President of the Central Ontario Railway. In a large number of letters to Sir John A. Macdonald he urged the desirability of commercial union but failed to overcome that Right Honourable gentleman's entire distrust of the proposal.⁴

Sir John Willison's opinion was that "probably Commercial Union was conceived in *The Mail* office . . . one suspects that Mr. Edward Farrer instructed Wiman, and by his persuasive writing made the proposal attractive to the Liberal leaders."⁵ In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that in February, 1887 Representative Butterworth, who was preparing to introduce in

¹C. C. Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911* (New Haven, Toronto, 1943), 391 n.

²*Ibid.*, 381.

³O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Toronto, 1921), I, 370.

⁴Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 382 ff.

⁵Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* (Toronto, 1919), 166.

Congress a resolution providing for commercial union, wrote a letter to Secretary of State Thomas Bayard, introducing C. W. Bunting, editor of the *Mail*. Bunting had a conference with Bayard and a few days later the *Mail* came out for reciprocity.⁶ This might suggest, though it certainly does not prove, that the *Mail* took its cue from south of the border. Not that Bunting was directly encouraged by Bayard, who favoured freer trade between the two countries but was not a commercial unionist. Still another view was that J. S. Longley, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia and a prominent Maritime Liberal, was commercial union's true parent. From the rather restricted vantage-point of the United States Consulate in Halifax, M. H. Phelan wrote to Bayard in October, 1887: "Longley is one of the leaders of *Commercial Union*, and I believe the father of the movement. He is an *annexationist*, bold and indiscreet in his utterances. . . ."⁷

The only valid conclusion which can be drawn from these conflicting opinions is that the habit of praising or blaming this or that individual as the inventor of commercial union must be discarded. It is quite probable that men on either side of the line began to think in terms of commercial union independently of one another and, if William McDougall can be believed, the idea spread in Canada "as spontaneously as the light of the morning."⁸ However, a liaison was soon established between its supporters in the two countries. Wiman, Farrer, and Goldwin Smith all acted as intermediaries and tireless propagandists. At the same time direct contacts were made between American public men who approved the scheme and their opposite numbers in Canada, such as Cartwright and John Charlton, a native American with extensive lumbering interests in both countries. Charlton, who represented North Norfolk in the House of Commons for many years, left a diary and an unpublished autobiography which show clearly that he had wide associations, not only with the lumbering industry of the United States, but with many of that country's political leaders as well.⁹ One can do little more than conjecture as to the relationships which Cartwright had with American businessmen and politicians, aside from one or two references in his *Reminiscences*. He speaks, for

⁶Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 390-1.

⁷*Ibid.*, 401 n.

⁸C. C. Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard* (New York, 1940), 546 n.

⁹The Charlton Papers, which are still in private hands, were placed temporarily in the University of Toronto Library through the kindness of Mr. L. J. Curnoe. See his unpublished M.A. thesis, "John Charlton and Canadian-American Relations" (University of Toronto, 1938).

example, of having had interviews with, among others, John G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senator John Sherman, President Cleveland, James G. Blaine, and Nelson A. Dingley.¹⁰ It is entirely probable that he had conversations as well as correspondence with others in the United States, though the former can only be surmised while the latter, if it existed, has with few exceptions apparently been lost. It is worth noting, if Willison's estimate of Farrer's part in the genesis of the movement is true, that Cartwright was on close, if not intimate, terms with that brilliant editorialist and, according to Willison, was responsible for Farrer's appointment in 1890 as chief editorial writer on the *Globe*.¹¹

In any event, it was not surprising that Sir Richard should regard commercial union as a desirable policy, in both the national and party interest. Ever since 1876 when the Conservative party had committed itself to the National Policy, he had been uncompromising in his opposition to protection. In that year, as Minister of Finance in the Mackenzie Government, he had pressed in council for higher tariffs to gain badly needed revenue but had been overruled by his colleagues. This adverse decision nearly led to his resignation from the Cabinet but Mackenzie persuaded him to stay on. The Conservatives, who had been prepared to denounce the expected tariff raise, suddenly discovered innumerable virtues in its upward "adjustment," which would protect Canadian producers from the "unfair" competition of their American neighbours. The Liberals for their part were forced to a defence of a low tariff which they continued to mount until the discouragement of many defeats made them see the error of their ways. And Cartwright, thwarted in his effort to get a moderate increase in the tariff, became, as Opposition financial spokesman after 1878, the doughtiest enemy of protection in Canadian politics. Macdonald's National Policy, which, Cartwright was convinced, bred corruption and inefficiency for the sole benefit of a few selfish manufacturers, had no more articulate critic; as Willison observed, "Abuse of manufacturers was with him an instinct, a duty, a recreation, and a profession."¹² Cartwright was Canada's best-known exponent of low-tariff views and any plan which would enlarge the area of free trade and at the same time promise his party success at the polls could expect to receive his support.

¹⁰Sir Richard Cartwright, *Reminiscences* (Toronto, 1912), 286.

¹¹Willison, *Reminiscences*, 204-5.

¹²*Ibid.*, 158.

II

There was, as long as Edward Blake remained leader of the Liberal party, some uncertainty regarding its tariff policy. Blake had consistently taken the stand that protection was an inescapable feature of Canadian fiscal policy but it was tolerably clear, despite Blake's own denial, that there was a distinct pull in the matter between him and Cartwright. This uncertainty, however, was removed in the months following Blake's retirement as leader in the spring of 1887. His withdrawal was greeted by a chorus of lamentation from his followers, scores of whom wrote urging him to reconsider. It is difficult to believe that Cartwright was among those who sorrowed over Blake's departure. It is true that he wrote to S. H. Blake, Edward's brother, asking him to bring his influence to bear in an effort to undo the resignation,¹³ and he reported to Wilfrid Laurier that he had written a strong remonstrance to Blake himself.¹⁴ But Sir Richard was undoubtedly restive under Blake's management of the party. He had little sympathy with the latter's basic strategy of concentrating on the task of winning friends among the manufacturers and among French Canadians, a strategy which, in Cartwright's mind, involved dangers far greater than any benefits its success might possibly bring. Temperamentally, too, Blake and Cartwright were opposites: Cartwright, a direct and outspoken person, was unable to follow, much less appreciate, the tortuous windings of Blake's subtle mind. In addition Sir Richard harboured ambitions of becoming federal leader himself and, even when that did not happen, undoubtedly relished the power and influence which his position as Laurier's chief lieutenant in Ontario gave him. That position he owed to Blake's resignation and thus on several counts he must have welcomed the news which others received so dolefully.

With Blake temporarily in the background, the way was open to the adoption of a new trade policy and before long Cartwright was writing to Laurier, urging the cause of commercial union. He appears at first to have been a little dubious about the merits of the idea itself but was persuaded that from a party standpoint the growing agitation was important and exploitable. A month after Laurier's elevation to the leadership Sir Richard wrote to say that "matters have been moving fast in Ontario within the last two weeks." He doubted "whether any public meetings can be held in a rural dis-

¹³University of Toronto Library, Blake Papers, Cartwright to S. H. Blake, March 9, 1887, confidential.

¹⁴Public Archives of Canada, Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, March 10, 1887, confidential.

strict without expressing a pretty decided opinion as to Commercial Union and I am beginning to think we may as well face the music." At the end of the last parliamentary session, he remarked, he "was inclined to believe we could have delayed any declaration but I am doubtful if we can fight any constituency without speaking plainly on the subject."¹⁵ Laurier had apparently been thinking along similar lines before he received this letter. At the end of June he wrote to Blake, whose advice on all matters he was obviously anxious to have. "The country," he observed, "is in an alarming condition, discontent among the masses & corruption among the politicians. Is it time to endeavour to strike for a bold policy, or shall we abstain, or shall we wait?"¹⁶ When Blake demanded clarification of this ambiguous question, Laurier replied: "The idea which I had in my mind was about 'commercial union.' At the time that I wrote you, I could not but notice the rapid progress which the movement made in Ontario." He went on to tell Blake of the letter he had received from Cartwright and prophesied that the subject was sure to be popular in both Ontario and Quebec. "I would judge," he concluded, "that Cartwright is right & that the time has come to speak. . . . Please send me your views in full."¹⁷

With this letter to his predecessor the new Liberal leader enclosed a copy of a circular he had sent to their parliamentary friends, a document which plainly shows the influence of Cartwright's letter to Laurier. Commercial union had, in the short time since prorogation, become a living issue and "in the estimation of several of our prominent Colleagues, its consideration admits of no delay." Referring to three impending by-elections, Laurier declared that the subject could not be avoided in these campaigns. ". . . I understand," he wrote, "that it would be impossible for any one to appear this day upon any public platform without being prepared to discuss it."¹⁸ Cartwright advised against making an open declaration in favour of commercial union until Laurier had received replies to his circular from a majority of his followers. "There is this serious difficulty," Sir Richard admitted, referring to a fact which was to embarrass him throughout the life of the movement, "that we have not as yet any authoritative declaration of the willingness of the U.S. authorities to treat with us and we cannot therefore do more than speak very generally on the subject. . . . Personally as you know I think we must take it up and probably before end of year but you

¹⁵*Ibid.*, same to same, July 8, 1887, confidential.

¹⁶Blake Papers, Laurier to Blake, June 30, 1887, confidential.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, same to same, July 14, 1887, confidential.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, July 14, 1887, private and confidential.

may," he added in a notable understatement, "find it necessary to reconcile some of our friends a little."¹⁹

Laurier for a time acted upon this advice, although privately he agreed with Cartwright that the party would be well advised to make commercial union a plank in its platform. In a speech at Somerset on August 2, 1887, his first public utterance as Liberal leader, he spoke of the popularity of commercial union among the farmers of Ontario but stopped short of giving it his personal blessing. "If I am asked at present for my own opinion, I may say that for my part I am not ready to declare that commercial union is an acceptable idea. I am not ready, for my part, to state that commercial union should be adopted at the present moment."²⁰ But to Cartwright he wrote six days later following a Liberal failure in the Renfrew by-election:

I am afraid that we are doomed to defeat following defeat, unless we come out fair & square in favour of commercial union. There is no doubt, there can be no doubt, that the feeling throughout the whole country is one of ever growing dissatisfaction at the present condition of things. Unless we meet the evil squarely & present the most adequate remedy, the average elector will vote for whoever comes out with subsidies & public works. I find, however, that with regard to commercial union our most prominent friends in Ontario are very timid.²¹

Cartwright replied that "the matter is of such moment that we must turn it over in every aspect before one speaks positively." Still, he was "pretty well assured that we must either let things drift which in our case means let them go to pieces or take up a policy in favour of full reciprocity which is perhaps a better phrase than Commercial Union." He agreed that it was impossible for Laurier in his official position to go further than he had done but suggested that it would "be quite in order for me in addressing my constituents which I will have to do this autumn to explain my views, taking care to say that I spoke as an individual. This will bring the matter up in earnest without absolutely committing the party and as I will have *Globe and Mail* and a very large section of the Ontario press behind me there is no fear but that we will have such a discussion as will soon show us where we stand." There would, he agreed, be a loss from their own ranks but it would "be very fully compensated even in Ontario and much more than made up in the Maritime Provinces and elsewhere." And after all, when all was said and done, "if we were in

¹⁹Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, July 26, 1887, confidential.

²⁰Skelton, *Laurier*, I, 375.

²¹Ontario Archives, Cartwright Papers, Laurier to Cartwright, Aug. 8, 1887, private.

what other policy offers any adequate results? We cannot go on multiplying taxes and granting subsidies ad infinitum and we cannot simply stand still." Cartwright said he would consider how the subject could best be presented in Ontario and asked Laurier's approval of the course of action he suggested. "I have," he remarked, presumably referring to his policy as Finance Minister in the 1870's, "laid a foundation for action some years ago on which I can very well proceed to build without running much risk of being dubbed annexationist either." In a postscript he asked an important question: "Have you had any letters from Blake on this?"²²

Laurier's answer was that he had not heard from Blake for some time. "Before speaking at Somerset, I wrote him to have his views. He answered to advise caution. He wrote at some length, but that was the burden of his letter." Laurier further reported that, although the sentiment of his Maritime supporters was unanimously in favour of commercial union, "serious objections come from Ontario, & strange to say, from our most prominent friends." He was inclined to think that the Ontario Government was partly responsible for this. "They are in power and they do not want to see a question raised which might perhaps disturb the smooth surface of the waters in which they sail. They can afford to rest where they are; we must move onwards and gradually we can, I believe, bring every one to fall in."²³

Cartwright responded to this letter at considerable length in order, should Laurier be wavering, to convince him that the objections from Ontario should not be taken too seriously.

I have given a great deal of thought to this matter of free trade with the U.S. of late and I am coming to the conclusion that it will not do to delay speaking much longer. So far as I can ascertain those of our Ontario friends to whom you refer do not object to the thing itself neither have they any alternative measure to suggest, good, bad, or indifferent. They seem to want to wait until success is sure and then to step in and reap the fruits. Now this will not work. We will not profit by the movement on those terms though our opponents may. In my judgement this is a case in which the instincts of the rank and file are much more likely to be right than the prudential objections of average politicians. I find almost all our local Reform press besides the big Toronto dailies are in favour of the movement and as it is now only too certain that we will have a poor harvest in Ontario we will find the farmers in a more receptive mood than they have ever yet been. Lastly I have information on which I think we can rely that the *leaders of the U.S. congress mean to move in the matter in December* and will make us a positive offer. I think you had better keep this to yourself but you will see the importance of action. I believe Sir John does not expect this and if we anticipate him he will be in a very awkward

²²Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Aug. 13, 1887, confidential.

²³Cartwright Papers, Laurier to Cartwright, Aug. 16, 1887, private.

predicament. As the difficulty, such as it is, lies in Ontario the discussion had better be begun here and so I propose if you personally do not object to grapple with the question when I address my constituents this autumn. This will give several weeks yet for matters to develop but from what you say of the overwhelming consensus of opinion in other quarters and from what I know myself it is not necessary to delay further on a/c of the section of hesitators from Ontario. What you say of the feeling of the local Govt. is correct but I believe the real explanation of the matter is that several of our friends are under obligations to individual manufacturers in their respective constituencies and are merely echoing the sentiments of a very few of that class. The utmost they ought to ask is that the question be not treated as a party one as yet and this for obvious reasons is the best course anyway. A full discussion and the expression of one's own individual opinion will serve all purposes.²⁴

This letter evidently helped convince Laurier that no harm would be done if Cartwright spoke his mind to his constituents: "... as to expressing any approval or disapproval of your intention of so speaking, I have only to say that you are the best judge of the state of things in Ontario & as to what do to. . . . As far as my judgement goes, in view of all you tell me, I quite agree with you that we should take an early opportunity of unfurling our colours." But Laurier was still bothered by the dissidence in Ontario. "At the same time we must perhaps preface such a step by some preliminary steps to prevent the possible breaking of harmony among us."²⁵

One such step was to persuade Blake and also J. D. Edgar, who, Laurier reported, had written "in absolutely uncompromising antagonism to commercial union,"²⁶ that the party should commit itself to the scheme. He suggested that Cartwright discuss the matter with Blake and Edgar and also wrote to Blake, urging that the three should get together. "There is," Laurier told him, "a lull just now, as you properly remark, in the agitation about commercial union, but we must be prepared to take up the subject not only for discussion but for action." If, as Blake pointed out, the matter might come up during the forthcoming negotiations of the Fisheries Commission at Washington, and if it was possible that the American Commissioners might offer unrestricted free trade, "would it not be wise to move onwards, & take up our stand at once in favour of the principle. Cartwright is of that opinion, but Edgar is decidedly on the other side. I wish you would confer with them & other leading friends, at some early day & let me have the result, together with your own views."²⁷

²⁴Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Aug. 22, 1887, confidential.

²⁵Cartwright Papers, Laurier to Cartwright, Sept. 9, 1887, private.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Blake Papers, Laurier to Blake, Sept. 9, 1887, private.

Whether such a conference ever took place one cannot say but the speech for which Cartwright had sought and received Laurier's permission was delivered at Ingersoll on October 12. Unburdening himself of his customary threnody over a languishing and impoverished Canada, for which he became so famous that he earned the sobriquet of "the Blue Ruin Knight," Sir Richard plumped emphatically for commercial union.

I have no hesitation in saying frankly that if the United States are willing to deal with us on equitable terms the advantages to both countries, and especially to us, are so great that scarcely any sacrifice is too severe to secure them. I am as averse as any man can be to annexation or to resign our political independence, but I cannot shut my eyes to the facts. We have greatly misused our advantages, we have been foolish in our expenditures, we have no means of satisfying the just demands of large portions of the Dominion, except through such an arrangement as commercial union. . . . any failure or refusal to secure free trade with the United States is much more likely to bring about just such a crisis as these parties affect to dread than even the very closest commercial connection that can be conceived.²⁸

III

This speech, while it did no more officially than commit Cartwright as an individual, had the effect, as he had foreseen, of intensifying the discussion for it represented the views of the party's outstanding spokesman on trade and finance. It also helped to bring to a head a division within the party between a radical group, of whom Cartwright and Charlton were the moving spirits, and the men of caution who feared the political implications of commercial union, men like James Young and J. D. Edgar, William Mulock and Alexander Mackenzie. Blake, of course, was also numbered among this latter group, though following his retirement as leader he adopted for a time a discreet silence on public issues and, indeed, was absent in Europe during much of this period. Even before Cartwright's Ingersoll speech, Young had addressed a series of letters to the *Globe* arguing against commercial union, and, as he informed Laurier, he considered "the Com. Union agitation one of the stupidest mistakes ever made by any section of our party." It annoyed Young because to him it was a dangerously "anti-National and Americanizing policy."²⁹ Cartwright himself received a wrathful letter from Mackenzie, whose growing physical infirmity, though it had dulled his speech, had not diminished the sharpness of his pen. Mackenzie was piqued by the fact that Laurier had neglected to

²⁸Skelton, *Laurier*, I, 376-7.

²⁹Laurier Papers, Young to Laurier, Nov. 19, 1887, private.

send him a copy of his circular of July 14. "I infer from this," wrote the disgruntled former Prime Minister, "that I am to be cast out or ostracised by this new leader. I have not seen his paper as I declined a reading of it from a more favoured member." But Mackenzie had arrived at certain definite opinions, even if Laurier was not anxious to know what they were.

I regard *Commercial Union* as put by its advocates as impracticable. . . . I know from private correspondence that a large number of the Union advocates are firmly persuaded that a commercial union would be a sure step towards annexation and *therefore* favour it. They think such a step would cure all our ills. I do not see the real objections met. We complain of protection and propose to bind ourselves to a more extreme system. We are to raise a barrier against English trade and so commence a down grade political life. My feelings revolt at the proposal and I don't see much advantage in its realization. As a party move, I daresay something may be made of it by careful handling but on the other hand I dread to see the mess some of our fellows will make of it. I would prefer taking no positive ground but let it simmer for a time, but going as far for reciprocal trade as we did in 1874.⁸⁰

Cartwright was not inclined to attach much importance to these objections. Having decided to his own satisfaction that the espousal of commercial union would be to the advantage of the Liberal party, he was characteristically contemptuous of those who differed from him and content to ascribe their opposition to their personal selfish interests. The protests from Ontario were, he felt, the result simply of the fact "that some of our friends (all more or less mixed up with the manufacturing element in one way or other) are in mortal terror lest the cry of 'disloyalty' be raised against them. On the other hand I doubt if you will find a solitary Reform journal in Ontario except the Galt Reporter (Young's paper) which is not in favour of the commercial union movement and you may rely on it that the seed sown long ago among the farming population is bringing forth abundant fruit."⁸¹ He was confident that not only the farmers but "the lumbermen and railway people generally (C.P.R. probably excepted)" had been converted to the cause.⁸² And at any rate, "from a purely tactical stand-point what alternative policy have these objectors to offer? You and I know well that we cannot go through another session in the fashion we did the last with half our men seeking by any and every miserable pretext to shirk a vote on the very simplest and plainest questions."⁸³

⁸⁰Cartwright Papers, Mackenzie to Cartwright, Sept. 27, 1887, private.

⁸¹Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Oct. 29, 1887, confidential.

⁸²*Ibid.*, same to same, Oct. 15, 1887, private.

⁸³*Ibid.*, same to same, Oct. 29, 1887, confidential.

Although Cartwright, to strengthen his argument, may have exaggerated the demoralization of the party, it is true that much of its internal unity and *esprit de corps* had been destroyed by the aftermath of Riel's hanging and by defeat in three successive general elections. It seemed to him that a striking new policy was needed to heal the party's wounds and restore its fighting spirit. Commercial union, as it turned out, was not the policy to do this but there appeared to be good reasons for thinking, in the autumn of 1887, that the Liberals might well profit by identifying themselves with the proposal, the spreading clamour for which Erastus Wiman called "one of the most remarkable events that has ever occurred in any community."³⁴ Certainly Cartwright, with his sights lowered as was his custom to the situation in his own province, was justified in concluding, even considering the evidences of dissent within his party, that here was a heaven-sent opportunity to end its bleak and over-long career in opposition. The two greatest daily newspapers in Ontario, the *Globe* and the *Mail*, had been vigorously supporting commercial union for many months and the provincial Liberal press was almost solidly behind it. The interprovincial conference at Quebec had resolved in favour of unrestricted reciprocity; commercial union clubs were active throughout Ontario, and apparently successful in working up enthusiasm for the scheme; many of the Farmers' Institutes of the province had gone on record in favour of the plan.³⁵ Goldwin Smith wrote to Francis Wharton of the American State Department in October that there was "no doubt whatever as to the progress which the movement for Commercial Union is making here. A manufacturer writing in the *Toronto Globe* the other day, stated his conviction that seven-eighths of the people were in favour of the measure. I suspect that he was not far from the mark." Smith was also able to report with satisfaction that "Sir Richard Cartwright, our best financier and the real thing, not the nominal leader of the Liberal opposition, as you may perhaps have seen, has come out distinctly on our side."³⁶ Smith's testimony regarding the popularity of commercial union may have been coloured by wishful thinking but as detached an observer as the "travelling Commissioner" of the *Pall Mall Gazette* could write that "Commercial Union is the coming question for Canada. . . . My own experience is that outside of Ottawa, which is the centre of ministerialism, three out of five of the

³⁴Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 400.

³⁵J. S. Willison, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party: A Political History* (Toronto, 1903), II, 124.

³⁶Tansill, *Foreign Policy of Bayard*, 547-8.

most intelligent men I have met are enthusiastic Commercial Unionists."³⁷ To add to the apparent responsiveness of Canadians to the scheme, especially in Ontario and the Maritimes, was the fact that the administration and many members of Congress in the United States seemed disposed to welcome a relaxation of trade restrictions between the two countries. It is not surprising that to Cartwright the hour to move forward was at hand.

Nevertheless, the "prudential objections of average politicians" were not to be dismissed so disdainfully as he was wont to do. Throughout the life of the commercial union movement there seemed to many men of both parties, Liberal as well as Conservative, something sinister and dangerous about a proposal which implied a threat, not alone to Canada's position in the British Empire, which was acceptable to almost all Canadians, but also to her hard-won autonomy. If commercial union was bitterly opposed by many imperialists, it was no less repugnant to a good many others on purely national grounds. Had Canada, then, only gained the freedom to decide her own fiscal policies in order to surrender that freedom in an economic union with her neighbour? Had she gained political autonomy only to enter upon engagements with the United States which might well lead to her absorption in the latter? These were serious and important questions which Cartwright and his friends would have done well to ponder more carefully, for the widespread misgivings concerning the possible results of continental economic union had deeper roots than political cowardice or the selfishness of vested interests.

Those misgivings and the objections to commercial union which they aroused in the minds of many Liberals were no doubt greatly strengthened by the disclosure that the Imperial Government of Lord Salisbury considered that the acceptance of commercial union would end Canada's membership in the Empire. At least it appeared from the public declarations of one of its members that such was the case. Before sailing for the United States to serve on the Joint Commission appointed to settle the long-standing fisheries dispute, Joseph Chamberlain in a speech at Belfast was reported to have said that if Canada wanted commercial union "she must be made to know that it means political separation from Great Britain."³⁸ It was presumably this remark which led Cartwright to write to Laurier that "Chamberlain's atrocious folly will of itself alone give us an admirable ground of attack. . . . I would suggest your preparing for

³⁷Quoted in *Regina Journal*, Jan. 12, 1888.

³⁸Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 399.

a vigorous onslaught on the question whether we ought not to be allowed to control our own treaties. This ought to bring out a good vote as Chamberlain's conduct admits of no defence."³⁹ At the end of December Chamberlain spoke to the Toronto Board of Trade, warning his audience of the dangers of commercial union: "I am in favor of the widest possible commercial union and intercourse not only with the United States, but with all the world. That is the true Unrestricted Reciprocity. There is, however, a restricted reciprocity which would make you dependent for your financial freedom upon the Government of another State, and perhaps pave the way for the surrender of something which is still more important—I mean your political independence."⁴⁰ The conclusion of J. L. Garvin, Chamberlain's biographer, that after this speech was delivered commercial union "was dead in Toronto and weakened throughout the Dominion"⁴¹ is, of course, a great exaggeration. But Chamberlain's words would not be without some effect on a people accustomed to listen with great respect, if not reverence, to the pronouncements of British public men. They would surely reinforce those more cautions Liberals who distrusted the headstrong Cartwright and who proved to be sufficiently strong and numerous to force the party to adopt, instead of commercial union plain and unadulterated, a watered-down substitute which went by the name of unrestricted reciprocity.

The distinction between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity was at the time and has remained a matter of some confusion. The Conservatives claimed throughout that the latter was simply the former in sheep's clothing and that the Liberals, in adopting unrestricted reciprocity, were engaged in a cowardly masquerade to hide the dark implications of their actual policy. The *Globe* used the two terms interchangeably, though before the parliamentary session of 1888 began it had managed, in company with the party leaders, to discover a difference between them.⁴² Cartwright, in a letter to Laurier already quoted, had suggested that "full reciprocity" might be a better phrase than "commercial union." Presumably, if these were synonymous in his mind, he would see small difference between commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity. On the other hand, there were those in the party who thought they discerned a genuine distinction and, in fact, the majority were found to prefer unrestricted reciprocity to commercial

³⁹Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Oct. 29, 1887, confidential.

⁴⁰Tansill, *Foreign Policy of Bayard*, 550.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 551.

⁴²See K. W. McNaught, "The *Globe* and Canadian Liberalism, 1880-1890" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1946), chap. v.

union. Thus, for example, Edgar, whose attitude to the latter was one of "absolutely uncompromising antagonism," found no difficulty in supporting unrestricted reciprocity. In fact, a series of open letters addressed to Wiman and written by Edgar were of great influence in steering the party from what he thought were the dangerous quicksands of commercial union to the safer, if somewhat ambiguous, ground of the less extreme plan. Edgar argued that a customs union with a common North American tariff against the rest of the world was not essential to complete reciprocity between the two countries. This point of view, though rather unrealistic as events were to prove, appealed to many persons who claimed that under a customs union the Canadian tariff would be set in Washington rather than Ottawa. To these people unrestricted reciprocity offered less danger of ultimate political absorption than commercial union and hence left less room for imputations of disloyalty. Edgar was convinced as he informed Laurier, "that Unrestricted Reciprocity, as distinguished from Commercial Union with uniform tariffs, will be as far as we can go as a party unless events march very fast."⁴⁸ When the Quebec interprovincial conference in its zeal to embarrass Macdonald and Co. added a resolution endorsing unrestricted reciprocity to its other pronouncements, it seemed fairly clear that commercial union would give way, as far as the Liberal party was concerned, to the more innocuous substitute. This, in fact, proved to be the case when the party caucus met at the end of February, 1888 and decided without a dissenting vote to nail the banner of unrestricted reciprocity to its masthead.

Neither Laurier nor Cartwright appeared to be much concerned over the argument about the relative merits of commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity. Cartwright probably regarded it as so much scholastic hair-splitting. There is no reference to it in his memoirs and no evidence in his letters to Laurier that he attached any importance to it. What he was most anxious to secure was the adoption by the party of a policy which would renew its vigour and give it some fighting ground. If the phrase "unrestricted reciprocity" was less offensive to a majority than "commercial union," then its adoption was indicated; even if the latter was preferable to him, half a loaf was better than no bread. At any rate, the resolution Sir Richard moved in the House of Commons on behalf of the party in March, 1888 was so sweeping in its terms that the most ardent advocate of continental free trade could find in it all that his heart desired.

⁴⁸Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations*, 402.

As for Laurier, his attitude at that time to the whole matter of free trade with the United States has frequently been misunderstood. For example Tansill states that "in 1887, Wilfrid Laurier was opposed to the idea of commercial union,"⁴⁴ while Skelton remarks that Laurier "stood aloof" from the commercial union movement although some of his followers, notably Cartwright, "were prepared to rush in," and refers to "the new leader's more cautious policy."⁴⁵ Reference only to Laurier's words at Somerset gives colour to this view but in the light of the correspondence quoted above it is apparent that there was no essential difference of opinion on trade policy between Laurier and his chief lieutenant in Ontario. Furthermore, even after Cartwright had dropped the use of "commercial union" and had begun to talk about "unrestricted reciprocity," Laurier was still using the original term, either because he regarded the two as synonymous or because he actually preferred commercial union as a policy. At the beginning of 1888 Cartwright wrote Laurier that he did not think there was any choice left. "We *must* make a new departure and there is nothing which will fill the bill half so well as unrestricted reciprocity."⁴⁶ Two weeks later Laurier told Blake, in an interesting echo of Cartwright's phrase: "We must try to make a new departure. . . . There is a universal desire for a change. Commercial union would afford relief, and commercial union must be popular."⁴⁷ All this would suggest that Laurier was no more "cautious" than anyone else in the party on the trade question; the implication that he was rushed, hesitating and reluctant, by his headstrong friends into open support of unrestricted reciprocity, and was thus less responsible than they for what proved to be a politically unwise decision, will not bear scrutiny.

In any event, Laurier and Cartwright were agreed by the end of 1887 that free trade with the United States, under whatever name, should be incorporated into the Liberal party programme. ". . . between this question," wrote Cartwright, "and the declarations of the Inter-provincial conference (which are substantially our own) you have material for a very satisfactory platform." He saw two possible dangers in unrestricted reciprocity from a party standpoint but thought they were no more than necessary risks. "1. The U.S. may refuse to treat altogether on any such basis. This is not likely and anyway as we can hardly hope to carry our point you need not bother about it now. 2. If Cleveland wins and his policy is put in

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 398 n.

⁴⁵Skelton, *Laurier*, I, 376, 377.

⁴⁶Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Jan. 2, 1888, confidential.

⁴⁷Blake Papers, Laurier to Blake, Jan. 16, 1888.

practical shape they may concede of their own free will much of what we ask."⁴⁸ It would be tragic if a low-tariff administration in the United States offered what the Liberal party desired before the Liberal party had had a chance to exploit the issue! Writing to Blake in Europe, Laurier told him of the progress unrestricted reciprocity had made among his supporters. "It is the general desire that we should make it a party issue. The consensus of opinion which I have received has been singularly unanimous. In fact, all the friends that I have consulted have been of the same mind, with the exception of two or three. I think it will be wise & politic early in the session, to adopt the new platform. In so doing, however, I do not anticipate an easy nor an early triumph."⁴⁹ Six weeks later with the acceptance of the new policy by caucus the die was cast and the bitter and colourful campaign which was to culminate in the election of 1891 was under way.

It is clear that to a very large extent the temporary insertion of unrestricted reciprocity into the creed of Canadian Liberalism resulted from the dictates of expediency. It is, of course, no new discovery that in the formulation of political strategies opportunism generally outweighs conviction. It is true, too, that the Liberal party had a heritage of anti-protectionism which Blake's leadership had not dissipated and which the depression of the 1880's and the resultant commercial union movement had revived. But if one scans the correspondence of Cartwright and Laurier the extent to which the immediate future of the party was uppermost in their minds stands out forcefully. A man like John Charlton, with his extensive timber limits in both countries and his preoccupation with the lumber trade, was heart and soul a commercial unionist, partly because his own interests made him one and partly because, as his diary makes clear, he effected a not unnatural identification of his own interests with those of the country as a whole. Not so with Laurier and Cartwright. Unlike Charlton, their personal affairs did not particularly predispose them to the support of free trade with the United States. To them it was primarily the one visible "new departure" which had to be made if the party was to be rescued from imminent disintegration. "... we must either let things drift," Sir Richard emphasized in a letter quoted earlier, "which in our case means let them go to pieces or take up a policy in favour of full reciprocity. . . ." Laurier was equally pessimistic about the prospects of the party if it failed to find a new and compelling pro-

⁴⁸Laurier Papers, Cartwright to Laurier, Jan. 2, 1888, confidential.

⁴⁹Blake Papers, Laurier to Blake, Jan. 16, 1888.

gramme. "You seem to believe," he told Blake who had written deprecating unrestricted reciprocity, "that our party under actual circumstances will consolidate and crystallize. My anticipations are the very reverse. It is manifest that we must more and more disintegrate. . . . Opposition has no terrors for me. Unfortunately the men of our generation have been accustomed to look to success in politics & not to principle. Our friends have become impatient of repeated defeats, & it has made them imprudent."⁵⁰

Blake may well have meditated bitterly over this implied reflection on his leadership and possibly his opposition to unrestricted reciprocity was as much the result of his feeling that it represented a repudiation of his own policy while leader as of his fear of its political consequences. No doubt it was gall and wormwood to him to see the party adopt a policy of which he disapproved and whose adoption was in large part due to Sir Richard Cartwright, a man with whom Blake had little in common except a mutual dislike. But Blake could not have gainsaid the fact that the party was in a wretched condition when he retired as its leader in the spring of 1887. A Liberal regeneration by some means or other was imperative.

Ironically, however, the means chosen led not to the desired end, but to further demoralization. Discontent within the party over its new trade policy, of which Blake became the focal point, was added to the shrewd and damaging tactics of the Conservatives in equating unrestricted reciprocity with commercial union and both with treason. The Liberal defeat of 1891 turned the party away from its flirtation with continental economic unification to a new orientation which subsequently found it building upon the basis of the national policies already formulated and established by Sir John A. Macdonald. In this re-orientation Cartwright became the scapegoat and the sacrificial victim. Laurier, who, it would appear, had been no less reticent than Sir Richard in seizing upon the commercial union agitation as a cure for his party's ailment, survived the change to achieve glory as Prime Minister during a time of national success. But Cartwright, who had managed to become in the public mind the embodiment of continentalism, after 1891 found himself dragged to the wings, his place at centre stage usurped by others with different lines to speak.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

SIR JOHN ROSE AND IMPERIAL RELATIONS

AN EPISODE IN GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

DAVID M. L. FARR

THE year 1870 represents a significant point in the changing attitude of British public opinion towards the Empire. For at that time the influence of what has been called the anti-colonial viewpoint, inspired by the teachings of the Manchester School and the "Little Englanders," reached a culmination. In that golden age of British prosperity and assurance, the imperial relationship, the "expensive and perilous connexion," as Goldwin Smith described it, was held in indifference by responsible Englishmen belonging to the two great political parties.¹ It is the more interesting, therefore, to come across a memorandum on imperial relations written in 1870 by a leading Canadian statesman who valued the colonial tie and felt that it constituted no real burden to either Great Britain or Canada. Sir John Rose placed his views on record for the benefit of the Imperial Government and the English public; the circumstances which called them forth and the use to which they were put affords an insight into the mutable character of the British imperial system.

The concluding phase of anti-imperial sentiment has always been associated with the advent to power of the first Gladstone administration in 1868. Gladstone's Government, a Liberal as distinct from a Whig ministry, based on the support of the middle classes and the industrial community, strongly influenced by the philosophy of the Manchester School, was popularly believed to have radical views regarding the relations between Great Britain and the Empire. The administration was committed to the extension of colonial autonomy, and to the promotion of freer trade. It proposed to reduce expenditure on colonial military defence; it was hostile to the acquisition of new territories; it might even accept the dismemberment of the Empire with equanimity! Although exaggerated by popular discussion, this viewpoint nevertheless found credibility in the separatist opinions expressed by leading members of the new Government. Gladstone himself had become a moderate separatist by this time, although it is difficult to isolate

¹C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (Copenhagen, 1924), contains an illuminating discussion of this period in British imperial history.

his precise opinions from the rather equivocal statements which he made on the destiny of the British Empire. Professor Knaplund sees Gladstone as one of the architects of the British Commonwealth of Nations,² although it is possible to assemble almost as much evidence to suggest that essentially Gladstone believed in the eventual independence of the larger settlement colonies. He would probably have subscribed to the following definition of the aim of British statesmen in their dealings with the colonies: "To ripen those communities to the earliest possible maturity—social political and commercial—to qualify them, by all the appliances within the reach of a parent State, for present self-government, and eventual independence is now the universally admitted object and aim of our colonial policy."³ If Gladstone was not a strong separatist, some of the other members of his ministry were. Robert Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Granville, the Colonial Secretary and later Foreign Secretary, and the veteran John Bright, the President of the Board of Trade, had all declared in vigorous language that independence for the colonies would be the most desirable destiny for both partners in the imperial connection.

Events which occurred in the first years of Gladstone's Government seemed to indicate that the new administration would welcome the secession of the most important British colonies. Disquieting speeches about colonial emancipation were made by Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar), the Governor-General of Canada, and by the Governor of Cape Colony. In the Australian colony of Victoria demands were voiced for a personal union with the mother country. The celebrated episode in which A. T. Galt received a knighthood from the Imperial Government in spite of his repeated assertions of Canadian independence did not clarify the ministry's policy in the public mind.⁴ The most disturbing occurrence, however, happened in New Zealand, where the Gladstone Government persisted in removing the last remaining Imperial regiment in spite of the fact that there existed a formidable uprising of the Maoris in North Island. The New Zealand ministers appealed for a suspension of the military evacuation, and for a loan to be used for defence purposes, only to receive, in 1869, a peremptory refusal from the Colonial Secretary. Lord Granville went on to suggest, in a frankly

²P. Knaplund, *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (London, 1927).

³Arthur Mills, *Colonial Constitutions* (London, 1856). Quoted in Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism*, 44.

⁴O. D. Skelton, *The Life and Times of Sir A. T. Galt* (Toronto, 1920), 451-6, reproduces the interesting correspondence which passed between Galt, Granville, and Lord Lisgar in this affair.

discourteous manner, that the native trouble had been caused by the land hunger of the white settlers and that the colony must restore order by its own efforts. This episode, lifted out of its context in British policy toward New Zealand, was made to appear, by the critics of the Liberal Government, as a deliberate attempt to provoke New Zealand into an act of separation. It was much discussed in the press and in public meetings, and is a direct cause of a notable debate in the House of Commons in the spring of 1870 on the subject of imperial organization.

The debate was initiated on a motion put forward by R. R. Torrens, Liberal member for Cambridge, who is now chiefly remembered as the first Premier of South Australia and the author of an important reform in the Australian land laws. Torrens asked that a Select Committee be appointed "to inquire into the political relations and modes of official inter-communication between the self-governing Colonies and this Country, and to report whether any or what modifications are desirable, with a view to the maintenance of a common nationality cemented by cordial good understanding."⁵ The Gladstone Government, under attack for its colonial policy, considered with some care the position it would take in respect to this provocative motion. The Colonial Office was given the task of providing ministers with the relevant information about Great Britain's relations with her autonomous colonies. In this assignment the Office saw the wisdom of securing informed colonial opinion and turned for assistance to the most influential Canadian in London in 1870.

Sir John Rose (he had been knighted in January), the second Minister of Finance in the new Dominion of Canada, had been residing in England since the autumn of 1869, a successful investment banker and financier. But Rose was more than a partner in Morton, Rose and Company; he was also the quasi-official agent of Canada in her dealings with the British Government.⁶ Anyone who examines the Colonial Office papers for these years cannot fail to be impressed by the able manner in which Rose carried out his duties, and the intimate and respected connection he formed with the Colonial Office itself. It was but natural, therefore, that Rose should be asked to write a memorandum for the use of the Office, setting out his views on the questions raised in Torrens's motion. His response to this request has recently been discovered among

⁵*Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 200, Table of Contents, April 26, 1870.

⁶M. H. Long, "Sir John Rose and the Informal Beginnings of the Canadian High Commissionership," *Canadian Historical Review*, XII, March, 1931, 23-43.

the Colonial Office records in London in the form of an unsigned, undated paper.⁷ The evidence of accompanying minutes establishes the authorship of the document beyond question.⁸ It is the work of Rose: an informal discussion by an experienced Canadian administrator on his country's place within the British Empire.

Sir John Rose's general attitude towards imperial questions in 1870 is well expressed in a series of three letters which he contributed anonymously to *The Times* in January of that year.⁹ This correspondence reveals Rose as a moderate exponent of imperial solidarity in an age when British thinking about the responsibilities of empire had assumed a state of marked uncertainty. There were three groups in England holding differing views on the Empire, said Rose: one favouring an abandonment of the colonies, one looking to the consolidation of the Empire through reducing colonial autonomy, and one which considered that existing imperial relations "do not work badly." He belonged to the third group, Rose admitted. Nothing must be done to disturb the political balance between England and her self-governing colonies, but on the other hand the principle "of maintaining the integrity of the empire" must be constantly affirmed.¹⁰

His position stated, Rose set out to answer the popular charges that the connection of Canada with Great Britain was a source of danger and unredeemed expenditure to the mother country. Canada had succeeded in keeping aloof from the American Civil War, he said, showing great tact and firmness in the presence of an overwhelming crisis in North American affairs. True, there had been Anglo-American disputes during the period, such as the *Trent* affair and the problem of the *Alabama* depredations, but they had not arisen from specifically Canadian causes. Thus the Civil War years

⁷The memorandum is to be found in the Public Record Office, London, C.O. 42, vol. 694. This volume, containing miscellaneous official correspondence, is an unlikely repository for the document, for the Colonial Office usually filed material prepared in connection with parliamentary enquiries in one of the "Public Offices" letter books, under the heading "Houses of Parliament." This may explain why the Rose memorandum seems to have been overlooked by students of Canadian history using the Colonial Office records in London. Mr. W. G. Ormsby of the Public Archives of Canada states that the memorandum does not appear to be among the Rose correspondence in the Macdonald Papers in Ottawa.

⁸H. L. Hall, in *The Colonial Office: A History* (London, 1937), 235n., briefly refers to the memorandum as the work of "Sir Hugh Rose," although obviously Sir John Rose is meant.

⁹Long, "Sir John Rose and the Informal Beginnings of the Canadian High Commissionership," 39-40, establishes the authorship of these letters. The letters appeared in *The Times*, Jan. 18, 19, 20, 1870.

¹⁰*The Times*, Jan. 18, 1870.

proved that Canada did not constitute a "danger spot" for Great Britain. Indeed her possession was vital to British sea power in its control of the North Atlantic and the west coast of North America, since the entire system of British strategic bases in the Western Hemisphere depended upon the retention of the Dominion. Far from being an Achilles heel, the new nation was a tower of strength! Moreover, if war with the United States did come, he continued, Canada would not have to be abandoned ignominiously, as some critics had prophesied. The Dominion possessed almost as many fighting men as the Confederate States, and in addition had a stronger defensive position behind the Great Lakes and the fortified border posts than the South had ever held. Like the Southern States, she would give a good account of herself and, backed by British naval and military power, would ensure that the result of an invasion by the United States would bear little resemblance to the outcome of the Civil War.

British funds, Rose admitted, were expended on Canadian naval and military defence, but these sums were relatively small and growing less as time went on. One could not test the utility of colonies by the profit-and-loss manner of the balance sheet; the value of colonies to the mother country was inestimable and intangible. National unity, honour, sentimental association, patriotism, and friendly relations were important considerations in the minds of both Canadians and Englishmen when they assessed the imperial tie. Far better for England to have scattered over the globe loyal colonies like Canada than soured and hostile groups such as the Irish community in the United States. The noble benefits of empire could only be achieved by continuing the imperial relationship in its present form, Rose concluded. The imperial atmosphere must be cleared of suspicion and recrimination and the duty of empire resolutely taken up.

[It is our task to assert] . . . the unity of the empire—to discountenance opposite views, and to mould all our policy in accordance with that conception; to remove any fears which exist in England with reference to the danger resulting from the possession of any colony; to ascertain, with as much precision as possible, the real extent of burdens they severally entail; to get rid of the idea of the supposed readiness of the colonies to palm these burdens on England, and of their unwillingness from time to time to revise the relations or place them on a footing which shall be just to both; and to dispel the idea that Colonial Governments are ready to enter into commercial treaties with foreign Powers adverse to English interests. There is great need, too, that the colonies should be disabused of the impression that there exists on the part of England a desire to throw them off. The appearance of unre-

quited love, with communities as with individuals, sometimes leads to unreasonable resentment.¹¹

Rose's outlook on the Empire confirms an impression that he is an interesting example of a statesman holding a genuinely *imperial* point of view, as distinct from a Canadian or a British position. A man who could say upon returning to England to live out the remainder of his life in prosperous circumstances, "Few men go to a colony who can exist at home,"¹² and who signed himself "A Colonist" in writing to *The Times*, was hardly a self-respecting Canadian nationalist. But, at the same time, Rose, with his important services on behalf of the Canadian Government, and his international financial activities in the United States and Canada, was not simply a representative of the narrow business interests of the City of London. His work as a commissioner for the settlement of claims arising from the Oregon Treaty, his delicate role in respect to the Rupert's Land transfer of 1869-70, and his reception by the United States Government as a *persona grata* in the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of Washington reveal a man uniquely fitted to put forward the imperial point of view. Appreciating the existing imperial relationship from the standpoint of both London and Ottawa, Rose displays a special approach which makes his memorandum of 1870 of some interest to students of the period. In the main his comments on the imperial organization of 1870 were favourable, his judgments springing from a sound understanding of the general goal to which the British Empire was tending in the last half of the nineteenth century.

II

In the memorandum Rose went beyond the scope of Torrens's motion by setting down his opinions on the methods of communication that had been used by Canada in her dealings with foreign countries and with Great Britain. Here, swayed by his confidence in the capabilities of the young nation, Rose claimed a greater measure of diplomatic freedom for the Dominion than past experience warranted, or the British Government was prepared to concede. In addition, he took up the question of England's expenditure for colonial purposes, a point of significance in this hour of Gladstone economy and Cardwell efficiency, and endeavoured to show that the cost of the settlement colonies to the mother country was more than compensated by the value of their trade.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1870.

¹²*Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1870.

Memorandum of facts on Mr. Torrens Motion

1. Political relations generally and communication with this country.
2. Official intercommunication with each other or with Foreign Countries on subjects affecting their interests.
3. The expenditure on Colonial Account and the pecuniary advantages derived by either from the connection.

1st. On that part of the first point which may be embraced in the words "political relations" I make no other observation than that I believe the great body of the Colonists are satisfied with them, that it is their earnest desire to continue them and that they will not readily part with the *prestige* or advantage which is their birthright as British subjects, but if time and altered circumstances require it they will be ready to readjust the conditions of the relation so as to adapt them to any new requirements.

In reference to the latter branch of the subject "the mode of carrying on communication with this Country" I do not think that any serious dissatisfaction exists or that there is any ground for it. Some party or individual in a Colony may occasionally from personal disappointment or for political purposes complain of the Colonial Office but those who have had the responsibility of conducting affairs have rarely if ever had occasion for dissatisfaction, and I can suggest no machinery by which the varied, delicate and often difficult questions claiming the consideration of the Colonial Department could be better or more speedily dealt with.¹³

2nd. Official Intercommunication between the Colonies or with Foreign Countries on subjects affecting their interests.

It is a great mistake to suppose that this intercommunication must be conducted by the circuitous medium of the Colonial Office. I am not aware that any objections have been raised to direct intercommunication between the Colonial Governments as freely as if they were independent Countries, saving of course the proper right of the Imperial Government to withhold its sanction from any consummated arrangement which might conflict with the General interests or policy of the Empire. There are numerous precedents in which the formal assent of the Colonial Office has been given not only to this mode of direct intercommunication, but also to direct negotiations with Foreign Countries, and so much is this assent taken for granted that negotiations are constantly opened between them without any application being made to the Home Government.

Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island sent a Commission to the Spanish West Indies, the Central and South American

¹³Rose's close association with the Colonial Office over a period of many years had given him a high opinion of the personnel and administrative methods of the Office. He felt that the Office was quite responsive to colonial opinion and was satisfactorily constituted to meet any change that might be contemplated in the organization of the Empire. "It is but simple justice to say, as I can do, after an experience of many years, that, whichever of the great parties in the State controlled it, I am aware of no instance in which indifference, or in which a full measure of consideration for the concerns and interests of any colony, or towards any colonist personally, was wanting." *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1870. "The Colonial Office may, with great propriety, be left to deal with all matters of administration and with any modification in the relations of any colony to the empire which its changed condition may call for." *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1870.

Republics, San Domingo, and the British possessions in the West Indies for the purpose of "inquiring as to the trade of those Countries and of ascertaining how far it might be practicable to extend the commerce now existing between them and British North America" and on the application of these Colonies their Commissioners were accredited by the Imperial Government, and furnished with conveyance in His Majesty's Ships etc. Since that time repeated negotiations have been conducted and arrangements affecting their mutual interests concluded between Canada and Nova Scotia (1867 and 1869) and Canada and Prince Edward's Island [*sic*] and Canada and Newfoundland, the results of which have been communicated rather for the information than for the sanction of the Imperial Government. To this course no exception has ever been taken although the subjects were of such moment as to involve constitutional changes of the gravest importance to themselves and to affect the commercial intercourse between England and Foreign nations—the conclusions arrived at not conflicting with Imperial policy.

So in relation to the Commercial intercourse between the Dominion of Canada and the United States. The Imperial Government unhesitatingly gave its sanction to direct communication between the Government of the Dominion and that of Washington—the British Minister being instructed to co-operate and act in concert with the Dominion Government, on which however lay the primary duty of initiating and prosecuting the negotiations, which included such important subjects as a common coinage, extradition of Criminals, copyright and free interchange of products, etc.¹⁴

3rd. The Expenditures on Colonial Account.

A Return¹⁵ has recently been published showing the expenditure on Colonial Account from 1858 to 1867 from which wrong conclusions may be drawn unless it is carefully analysed.

In the first place it stops at the year 1867 and does not show the great reduction made since that time.

The chief outlay would appear to be in British North America to which an average of £797,670 per annum is chargeable. But the interval included in this Return is, from exceptional causes, the most unfavourable. It embraces four events—the "Trent" affair, the complications arising out of the American War, the Fenian invasion and the outlay on construction of permanent Works at Halifax and Quebec now nearly completed. E.G. The Return shows in British North America an outlay in 1867-68 of £1,266,000 of which £100,000 were for permanent Works—about £50,000 for Barracks, and a like sum for Naval charges (which in 1861 amounted to £320,000). Whereas the gross expenditure in 1869-70 was only £509,000 and in 1870-71 it is only £245,000. A considerable part of these sums represent the outlay for the completion of the Works at Halifax. The amount applicable to Nova Scotia being £121,000 while that on the whole of the rest of the Dominion is only £103,000.

¹⁴For a discussion of the negotiations mentioned by Rose under this heading, and the claims which he based upon them, see below, 28-33, following the text of the memorandum.

¹⁵House of Commons (United Kingdom), *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, no. 80, vol. XLIX, Return of the Annual Cost of the several Colonies of the British Empire at the Expense of the British Exchequer (in continuation of, and in the same form as Parliamentary Paper, no. 240, of Session 1, 1859).

The whole of the group of Australasian Colonies;—Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand are to cost less than £25,000.¹⁶

It is further necessary to see what portion of this outlay represents the mere pay clothing and Commissariat of the Troops because although the money is spent in the Colony it cannot be properly chargeable to the Colony unless the Troops stationed there would, but for the requirements of Colonial Service, be struck wholly from the Roll of the Army.¹⁷

The expenditure on the self-governing Colonies—even including the permanent Works in British North America may be now put down at

Australasia — £25,000

Canada

Nova Scotia

New Brunswick

Newfoundland

Prince Edward's Island

} £245,000

I am aware of no other kind of expenditure than Military on these Colonies.¹⁸

The question whether an equivalent in money is received from their Trade is a problem which cannot be solved by figures. "Trade follows the Flag" is a maxim which is specially true in regard to the Colonial intercourse with the Mother Country, and those who assert that the Colonies would be as good customers to English manufacturers as they now are if the tie of

¹⁶The figures cited by Rose in this paragraph are approximations. The calculations are also entirely his work. The Return covers only the years up to 1867-68, so that the sums given by Rose for the subsequent period must be based on the Estimates. The general picture he presents of the scope of expenditure in North America for military purposes is accurate. Canada was indisputably the most expensive colony which Great Britain maintained—in 1868 she accounted for nearly 25 per cent of the total outlay on colonies—and military items comprised the bulk of this expenditure. *Ibid.*, 2, 10-12.

¹⁷Cardwell's reforms in the British Army, carried out while he was Secretary for War, 1868-74, provided for the withdrawal of Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, and resulted in a small reduction in the total military force of Great Britain. When Cardwell took office the strength of the British Army stood at 138,691 men; the policy of withdrawal reduced this figure by 1871 to 115,037; but by 1874 it had climbed to 128,968. There were still 24,022 Imperial troops in the colonies in 1874 (and many more in India) and the strength of the army in the United Kingdom had been increased by 25 battalions. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services, *Parl. Pap.*, 1868-9, no. 39, vol. XXXVI; 1871, no. 5, vol. XXXVIII; 1873, no. 35, vol. XL. *Parl. Pap.*, 1873, no. 47, vol. XL, Statement showing the Amounts included in the Army Estimates, 1873-74, for Military Purposes in the Colonies. See also Sir R. Biddulph, *Lord Cardwell at the War Office* (London 1904), 245, *passim*. The concentration of the forces at home was designed to promote efficiency and strategic economy, but it did not *by itself* achieve a marked reduction in the army estimates. Rose would therefore seem to have been justified in making this claim.

¹⁸The Return of 1870 reproduces small sums for a limited number of non-military charges. These included, in the year 1867-8: pensions, surveys, ecclesiastical expenditures, miscellaneous aids, and, in Prince Edward Island, the governor's salary. The total amount of these charges to the British Exchequer for all the British North American colonies in 1868 did not exceed £7,000.

common nationality were removed, speak with little understanding of the Colonial mind. Admitting the force of the argument that communities will, everything else being equal, endeavour to buy in the cheapest markets, are not the recent progress of manufactures on the Continent of Europe and in the United States, and the greatly improved means of intercourse which exist from Continental ports direct to Foreign Countries, somewhat impairing the past monopoly which England had in Foreign Markets, and making it her interest not to weaken any one of the influences which operate to attract the Colonial demand to her? *Could* separation be accomplished without political enmity? and would not diversion of trade and protective or prohibitory duties follow? Witness the present agitation for a Customs Union, or *Zollverein* between the Dominion of Canada and the United States. If separation were to take place this Union must follow of admitted necessity, I say nothing of the possible course of protective Legislation on which they might enter were the just [influence] withdrawn which England now exercises and which having been judiciously and temperately exercised has been all the more regarded.

If the Trade Returns between England and the United States are analysed, they will I believe prove that notwithstanding the increasing individual wealth, the amount per head imported of British manufactures is yearly diminishing.

I cannot vouch for the following statement, which I have seen in more than one reliable quarter; but so far I have observed no contradiction of it and if accurate the figures prove that the Australian and British American Colonies together consume six times as much of the products of British Industry in proportion to their population as the United States.

The following is the statement I refer to:—

	Population	Total imports British goods	Per head
United States	38,000,000	£ 21,000,000	11/-
Dominion of Canada	4,300,000	£ 7,000,000	33/-
New South Wales	450,000	£ 3,000,000	£ 6-13-0
New Zealand	220,000	£ 1,700,000	£ 7-14-0
South Australia	170,000	£ 1,200,900	£ 7
Victoria	700,000	£ 6,000,000	£ 8-10-0

I have not been able to analyse the Trade Returns of the year 1868 but the exports compared with former years in the Articles of Cotton Goods, Linens, Woollens—Hardware and Haberdashery, may be examined with advantage; and the exceptional demand during the years 1866 and 1867 for Railway Iron consequent on the rebuilding of Southern Lines and the extraordinary extensions in the West, should also be noted.

The Rose memorandum was circulated among the officials of the Colonial Office, whose comments reveal the different assessment made by the metropolitan power of the examples which Rose put forward to demonstrate the reality of colonial freedom in diplomatic negotiations. Sir Frederic Rogers, who for a decade had been the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, expressed with a customary directness his reservations regarding Rose's claims. "I

think Mr. Rose [*sic*] puts more strongly than the F.O. wd. like the liberty of the Colonies to enter into negotiations with Foreign Countries, in wh. this country always keeps its hand—though facilitating in any way the transaction of business direct betw. the parties interested. P.E. Island got a snub for going too far.”¹⁹ The same hesitation was felt by Lord Granville, the Colonial Secretary. “Mr. Rose appears to lay down a principle which goes beyond the facts which he afterwards adduces. Many of the negotiations mentioned by him, were previously sanctioned by the Imperial Govt.”²⁰ Lord Granville’s opinion is confirmed by a brief examination of the instances which Rose cited to display the independence and initiative of the British North American colonies in their relations with each other and with foreign countries. The relevant dispatches in each case are accessible in the Colonial Office and Foreign Office papers and may be usefully subjoined to the text of the Rose memorandum.

The Prince Edward Island episode of 1868, mentioned by Rogers, is an apposite illustration of the official British attitude towards the diplomatic pretensions of the colonies at this time. In the summer of 1868 the United States Congress appointed a small delegation, headed by the vociferous General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, to visit Prince Edward Island to discuss the question of reciprocal free trade with the Island. The executive Government of the colony met the American delegates and worked out an agreement with them covering the free admission of certain natural products into both areas and the imposition of a small duty on manufactured articles.²¹ When, some months later, the Colonial Office heard of these proceedings, the rebuke to the Government of the colony was swift and decided. Granville wrote to the officer administering the Government:

These proceedings might have been attended with benefit if they had been restricted, as originally intended, to the mere giving and receiving of information on questions of trade between Prince Edward Island and the United

¹⁹P.R.O., C.O. 42, vol. 694, minute, April 6, 1870, by Sir Frederic Rogers on the “Memorandum of facts on Mr. Torrens Motion” (hereinafter referred to as the Rose memorandum).

²⁰*Ibid.*, minute, April 5, 1870, by Lord Granville on the Rose memorandum.

²¹P.R.O., C.O. 226, vol. 105, “Correspondence Between a Committee of the United States and the Executive Government of Prince Edward Island in reference to the Establishment of Reciprocal Free Trade” (Charlottetown, 1869). Also C.O. 226, vol. 104, George Dundas (Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island) to Buckingham, no. 90, Aug. 27, 1868; Dundas to Buckingham, no. 95, Sept. 21, 1868; R. Hodgson (Administrator of the Government of Prince Edward Island) to Buckingham, no. 115, Dec. 26, 1868.

States. . . . But I think it unfortunate that the discussion should have been allowed to assume the appearance of a negotiation between a Colonial Government and the Representatives of a Foreign Legislative Body. Such isolated negotiations with individual Colonies are open to most serious objection especially when they extend to matters affecting Imperial interests and also the interests of the other N. American Colonies who were not made parties to the transaction.

I am clearly of opinion that your Government exceeded their proper authority in thus treating with the Committee of Congress and that if you had been applied to for your sanction you ought not to have given it.

Her Majesty's Government are not prepared at the present moment to take any steps in consequence of the Report of the Executive Council.²²

The Foreign Office also pointed out the Island Government's indiscretion in undertaking independent negotiations with a foreign state. The episode might have assumed serious proportions in view of the momentous issues at that time awaiting settlement between Great Britain and the United States. "The anomalous results of an irregular negotiation of this Character are evident from the report herewith inclosed, from which you will perceive that amongst other matters discussed were questions as to arrangements to be made in the contingency of war between the United States and England, as to the Consular Fees established under Act of Parliament, and as to fishing rights which, as you are aware, is a matter which has been treated by H.M.'s Govt. in connection with the general question as to the Reciprocity Treaty."²³

The example of the Canadian trade delegation to the West Indies and South America which Rose provided to support his statement that "negotiations are constantly opened between [the colonies and foreign countries] without any application being made to the Home Government," is also of doubtful assistance to his case. The sending of a commission by the British North American colonies to Cuba, Brazil, and the British West Indies in 1865 arose out of the deliberations of the Confederate Council of Trade in the same year, when the colonies discussed the renewal of the reciprocity treaty with the United States.²⁴ The decision to send agents to South America to explore the possibility of increasing trade with that area was sanctioned by Edward Cardwell, then Colonial Secretary. The Colonial Office promised assistance to the commis-

²²P.R.O., C.O. 228, vol. 105, Granville to Officer Administering the Government of Prince Edward Island, no. 13, March 13, 1869.

²³*Ibid.*, transcript of Clarendon to E. Thornton (British Minister to the United States), no. 7, March 6, 1869.

²⁴For the achievements of this meeting see N. M. Rogers, "The Confederate Council of Trade," *Canadian Historical Review*, VII, Dec., 1928, 277-86.

sioners but was silent on the important question of their status and right to negotiate agreements. Writing to the head of the Canadian Government Cardwell said:

I request you will assure the Provincial Government that H.M. Govt. cordially approved the suggestion they have made, and will support it by all the means in their power. The scheme is of course not applicable to Canada alone, but to the British N. American Colonies collectively.

On that understanding I shall request the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to recommend the object in view at the requisite Foreign Courts and to introduce to the British Ministers abroad those gentlemen who shall be selected for the Mission. I, on my part, shall be happy to instruct the Governors of the British Colonies to afford them every assistance they can.²⁵

The Foreign Office was more explicit on this score, the Earl of Clarendon affirming that in no sense did the commissioners have the status of plenipotentiaries. ". . . His Lordship concludes that, as regards foreign Countries, the Agents who may be sent from the British North American Colonies will not assume any independent character, or attempt to negotiate and conclude arrangements with the Governments of foreign Countries, but will only . . . be authorized to confer with the British Minister in each foreign Country, and to afford him information with respect to the interests of the British North American Provinces."²⁶ They could gather information respecting trade conditions in South America but treaties based on their researches would be concluded by the British ministers in the countries concerned.

Rose is quite correct in his statement that frequent negotiations were conducted by Canada with other colonies in British North America prior to 1867. It must be remembered, however, that these negotiations were carried out under the general authority furnished Canada to promote Confederation with the other North American provinces. This authority was implicitly conveyed in such important dispatches as Mr. Secretary Cardwell's letter of 1865 to the Governor-General in Canada, describing the confederation negotiations between the Imperial Government and the Canadian delegates: ". . . we repeated on the part of the Cabinet the assurances which had already been given of the determination of Her Majesty's Government to use every proper means of influence to carry into

²⁵P.R.O., C.O. 43, vol. 154, Cardwell to Officer Administering the Government of Canada, no. 154, Oct. 28, 1865.

²⁶P.R.O., C.O. 42, vol. 652, E. Hammond (Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office) to Sir F. Rogers (Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office), Nov. 11, 1865.

effect without delay the proposed Confederation."²⁷ The negotiations with Nova Scotia, mentioned by Rose, occurred after Confederation and partook of changes in the financial terms offered Nova Scotia in the new Dominion. Nova Scotia was at this time a province of Canada and not a separate colony.

Rose's final claim, that the Imperial Government sanctioned direct negotiations between Canada and the United States over reciprocity and kindred subjects appears also to be but partly justified by the facts of the case. It would seem that Rose is referring to his discussions with Hamilton Fish, held during the previous July. In these talks, in which Rose proposed reciprocal free trade in certain manufactured articles, he was ably assisted by the British Minister in the United States, Edward Thornton. That Rose had no official authority to prosecute negotiations is made clear by a letter from the Governor-General of Canada to Thornton, introducing the Canadian agent:

. . . In accordance with the suggestions which you offer . . . the Canadian Ministers have decided on sending one of their number to Washington. . . .

This gentleman's visit will be of a private and non-official character, but he, in concert with you, will be prepared to discuss the various matters upon the carpet between the U.S. and the Dominion of Canada.²⁸

From this rapid review of the examples of colonial diplomatic freedom adduced by Sir John Rose, one must agree with the comment made by a senior clerk in the Office after reading the memorandum: ". . . it seems to me . . . that he has overstated his case. I have no recollection of any of the Colonies having entered

²⁷P.R.O., C.O. 43, vol. 154, Cardwell to Monck, no. 95, June 17, 1865. Cardwell also wrote to the lieutenant-governors of the Maritime Provinces at the same time: "[it is] . . . the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government. . . . Her Majesty's Government trust that after a full and careful examination of the subject in all its bearings, the Maritime Provinces will perceive the great advantages which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the proposed Union is calculated to confer upon them all." C.O. 218, vol. 37, Cardwell to Sir Richard MacDonnell (Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia), no. 29, June 24, 1865. See also C.O. 43, vol. 154, Cardwell to Monck, no. 93, Dec. 3, 1864; C.O. 218, vol. 37, Cardwell to MacDonnell, confidential, April 1, 1865; *ibid.*, Cardwell to MacDonnell, no. 39, July 28, 1865; C.O. 189, vol. 21, Cardwell to A. H. Gordon (Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick), no. 88, July 28, 1865; etc.

²⁸P.R.O., C.O. 42, vol. 680, transcript of Sir John Young to Thornton, no. 27, July 1, 1869. Some of the documents bearing on this negotiation are brought together in two articles by A. H. U. Colquhoun: "An Unpublished State Paper, 1868," *Canadian Historical Review*, I, March, 1920, 54-60, and "The Reciprocity Negotiations with the United States in 1869," *Canadian Historical Review*, VIII, Sept., 1927, 233-42.

into negotiations with Foreign Powers without having first consulted the authorities in this Country."²⁹

The Colonial Office staff also questioned the second part of Rose's memorandum, in which the former Canadian minister justified the expenditures for defence made by Great Britain on Canadian account. The outlay may not be exactly equalled by the value of Canadian trade to Great Britain, Rose had declared, but the problem is not one to be interpreted by statistics alone. "Trade follows the flag," he affirmed, and as long as Canada remained part of the British Empire she would constitute an ever growing market for British manufactures. At present Canadian consumption of British goods was greater per head than that of the United States. This may be so, minuted Robert G. W. Herbert, soon to succeed Rogers as Permanent Under-Secretary, but the explanation should be sought in the undeveloped state of manufacturing in the colonial territories.

I should say that the truth probably is, not that Commerce goes to the cheapest market, or to that with which it has a sentimental relation, but that through habit the merchant keeps long in the same groove, and does not find it easy to break away from ports and persons with which he has long traded. But of course the *principal* reason why our colonies take more of our exports per head than other countries is that they produce and manufacture just so much less of what they must consume. America now produces a great deal, and for that reason, and not because it flies a flag of a different pattern, buys less from us than our younger offshoots.

That is the light by which I should read the table on the opposite page.

...³⁰

Granville made the same point, in his final comments on Rose's paper. "There are some reasons quite independent of the flag, which would make some of these Colonies consume more of British Manufactures than the United States—they are younger Communities, they produce hardly anything but raw materials, they manufacture nothing, and they form much less of a world of their own, than the United States with their immense area, and great population—not to mention the [occurrence] of the almost prohibitory tariff."³¹

III

Torrens brought forward his motion for a Select Committee to investigate the relations between Great Britain and her Empire

²⁹P.R.O., C.O. 42, vol. 694, minute, April 14, 1870, by William Dealtry on the Rose memorandum.

³⁰*Ibid.*, minute, April 20, 1870, by Herbert on the Rose memorandum.

³¹*Ibid.*, minute, April 5, 1870, by Lord Granville on the Rose memorandum.

by stressing the dissatisfaction and uncertainty that existed at the moment about the Government's policy towards the colonies. The parliamentary heads of the Colonial Office were ignorant of colonial conditions and did not appreciate the innate loyalty to Great Britain that existed in the colonies, Torrens claimed. This meant that control was left to the permanent heads of the Office, who pursued a "traditional policy,"³² well suited to the needs of dependent colonies, but intolerable to the colonies of white settlement because of its tacit assumption of British superiority in political wisdom. Much of the trouble lay in the "unsuitableness of departmental machinery,"³³ and in the practice of communicating on colonial problems with the governor, who as an agent of the Imperial power could not represent the wishes of the colonists. Torrens, who was one of the leading exponents in Parliament of the rising imperial spirit, desired a revision of this machinery of government, although not in the direction of reducing colonial autonomy. He proposed instead that the Imperial veto over colonial legislation be limited to specific acts inconsistent with Great Britain's treaty obligations, and that a new system of communication with the colonies be established by allowing the parts of the Empire to send "envoys" to London. These "envoys" should occupy the same position in relation to the Colonial Secretary as that of ambassadors to the Foreign Secretary, and should be accredited to watch over the interests of their colonies in England and to proffer advice to the Colonial Office on measures concerning them. Such an arrangement would ensure harmony in the relations between Great Britain and the parts of her Empire and secure in London an adequate expression of the colonial point of view. Torrens did not think the plan would relax the imperial ties, because ". . . the alternative lay between ultimate separation and the recognition of those Colonies on the same footing as foreign States in alliance as far as regards this matter of diplomatic relations."³⁴

Torrens was followed by another speaker of imperialist convictions, the redoubtable Viscount Bury. Bury's views on the imperial tie succinctly illustrate the change that came over English public opinion during the second half of the century. In the fifties and sixties Bury, who had lived for some time in Canada and had married a daughter of Sir Allan MacNab, maintained separatist sympathies. He was so advanced in his ideas as to draw up a draft treaty arranging the terms of a peaceful separation between Canada and

³²Hansard, 3rd series, vol. 200, col. 1825.

³³*Ibid.*, col. 1833.

³⁴*Ibid.*, col. 1835.

Great Britain.³⁵ Then his outlook changed, with the result that in 1868 Bury established, and became the first president of, the Colonial Society, which later grew into the Royal Colonial Institute. He was to become a leading parliamentary adherent of the new imperialism and later, significantly enough, a member of the Conservative party. In 1870, however, he was still a Liberal, and apparently authorized by the Government to reply to Torrens's motion. Bury scouted the impression that there was dissatisfaction in the colonies about the imperial relationship. He quoted the early sections of Rose's memorandum, the work, as he said, of "a distinguished Canadian,"³⁶ to support this contention. The colonies were a source of strength and prosperity to England, the value of the connection outweighing any sums the mother country might expend for their defence. He referred to the Return showing expenditure on colonial account from 1858 to 1867, which Rose had mentioned, and proceeded to give Rose's comments on the document, but this time without mentioning Rose's name. One can only presume that he had been furnished with the Rose memorandum by Rose himself or by the Government, and had been deputed to reply to the motion.³⁷ At any event, Bury simply incorporated into his speech large excerpts of the specialized information from Rose's paper. The connection with the colonies must be maintained in its present form, elastic but firm, resembling a remarkable cobweb which he

³⁵Bury, writing in 1865, stated that England's authority over Canada was purely nominal at this time, and that the separation was, in fact, accomplished. That being so, "... it is ... urged that the certainty of eventual separation should be recognized at once, that the manner in which it is to take place, and the treaty which must be substituted for the present connection should be arranged now, while it may yet be done in peace, without reference to any immediate subject of dispute." Viscount Bury, *Exodus of the Western Nations* (2 vols., London, 1865), II, 423. The interesting (and prescient) draft articles of separation are found in the same volume, 459-63.

³⁶*Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 200, 1853.

³⁷It is curious that the opinions expressed in the Rose memorandum were not used in the debate by William Monsell, Gladstone's Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies. It may be that the extravagant claims made by Rose weakened the value of the document as a statement which could be approved by the Government. Instead, Bury made use of the paper, and it would seem therefore, that he and Rose were personal friends. This is a likely conjecture, although there does not appear to be any evidence beyond this episode to support it. The two men definitely did not meet on an official level in Canada. Bury occupied the posts of Civil Secretary and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs for Canada during the first year of Head's governorship. He left Canada in 1856 and was elected to the British House of Commons in the following year. Rose entered the Macdonald-Cartier Ministry (and public life) in 1857. With the capital of Canada alternating at this time between Toronto and Quebec, and with Rose a prominent lawyer in Montreal, they may not even have met socially in Canada. Their subsequent friendship in England, however, cannot be ruled out.

had once seen used by an angler in Scotland to catch trout. Let well enough alone, he said, in moving that the question be now put; the appointment of a parliamentary committee would accomplish no useful purpose, but would be like asking "a short-hand writer . . . to take down the gossip of the smoking room."³⁸

Sir Charles Adderley, speaking as a former Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office under Derby and Disraeli, and also as an original member of Gibbon Wakefield's Colonial Reform Society, echoed Bury's sentiments. The roving enquiry into imperial affairs which a committee would make would be mischievous. It was far more useful to hold an informal discussion of the subject, such as the House was now having. Adderley concluded by developing a favourite theme: the policy of withdrawing Imperial troops from the self-governing colonies was a wise one and should be continued. Only from that course would the possibility of a repetition of the experience of 1775 be completely eliminated and colonial self-respect be engendered.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, William Monsell, rose next to answer Torrens's charges. The colonies had no sense of grievance, he said, and were not interested in the idea of separation. When a protest movement during the previous winter had criticized the imperial organization, Lord Granville circularized all the colonies, asking if they felt any dissatisfaction with the existing mode of communication between Downing Street and the Empire. There were no expressions of criticism, Monsell said, and no desire to have ambassadors in London.³⁹ After defending the Government on its New Zealand policy and on its response to the Red River insurrection, he ended on a note that could not have reassured the imperial enthusiasts about the colonial intentions of the Gladstone Administration.

. . . no British statesman desires the continuance of the connection on any terms but those of free goodwill. [The colonies] are bound to us by no cords but those of affection and of interest. So sure as children become men, so

³⁸Hansard, 3rd series, vol. 200, col. 1854.

³⁹The duties of Sir John Rose, although not strictly those of an "envoy," were probably very similar to those Torrens had in mind in moving his motion. Monsell made no attempt to concede this point, nor to enlighten the House on the informal modes of communication and advice that were used by the Colonial Office in dealing with the problems of the autonomous colonies. Honduras, Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland, New Zealand, and several of the New Zealand provinces, as well as Canada, maintained agents in London in 1870. *Colonial Office List*, 1871, 13. For the remainder of the British colonies, their commercial and financial business in Great Britain was at this time transacted by the Crown Agents.

surely will the day come when these great communities will develop into independent States. The desire of Her Majesty's Government, and he believed, of every party in the State, was to postpone that inevitable hour—to make the ties that bind us together so elastic that they may not burst, and, avoiding those abstract questions the hon. Gentleman's proposal would be sure to raise if it were adopted, to leave to each Colony the fullest control over its internal concerns.⁴⁰

Sir Charles Dilke, whose *Greater Britain* had been an enormous publishing success for two years, intervened briefly in the debate to correct some references made to his book. His speech revealed a stiff and unimaginative attitude towards the administration of the Empire, a startling contrast to the lofty and fervid idealism expressed in *Greater Britain*. The colonies should be required to assume more of Great Britain's imperial burden, he said, and instanced the cost of the public debt, the government departments, and the diplomatic and consular services as areas in which colonial responsibility for aid would be welcomed. Revenue from India partly supported the India Office; the Colonial Office should be maintained in the same manner.

Dilke was followed by his chief, Gladstone, who rose to speak, as he said, because of the serious charges made against the Government. He admitted the present uneasiness in the colonies, but claimed it had existed for the last thirty years; ever since, in fact, responsible government had been granted to some parts of the Empire. The Government was not introducing any new policy, but simply applying "admitted principles," of which the basic one was the extension of colonial autonomy. Then followed the notable aphorism: "When you are involved in a bad system you cannot pass even to a better without feeling some inconvenience in the transition."⁴¹ Echoing Burke's prescription, he declared the Government's policy to be one of "freedom and voluntarism."⁴² In withdrawing the military forces from the self-governing colonies the mother country was encouraging colonial self-reliance, and not merely economizing in a manner likely to prove hazardous to imperial interests. What changes were proposed for the imperial connection, Gladstone asked; what modifications could be made in the methods of consultation that would not abridge colonial freedom? All the schemes he had examined for colonial consolidation were visionary and impracticable. Then he reiterated one of his favourite ideas regarding the colonial relationship: that if separation should come,

⁴⁰*Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 200, 1890.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, col. 1900.

⁴²*Ibid.*, col. 1902.

it should be "a peaceable and friendly transaction." "Surely it is a great object to place, if possible, our colonial policy on such a footing, not for the purpose of bringing about a separation, but of providing a guarantee that, if separation should occur, it should be in a friendly way. That is the sense, the principle, and the secret of our policy with regard to colonial reform."⁴³ Taken by itself, this statement would suggest unequivocally that Gladstone believed in separation, but he immediately followed it with the panegyric claim that the policy of the Government "does not, in my opinion, tend to weaken the relations between the mother country and the Colonies, but, on the contrary, while securing the greatest likelihood of a perfectly peaceable separation, whenever separation may arrive, gives the best chance of an indefinitely long continuance of a free and voluntary connection. That is the footing on which we . . . have endeavoured to found our colonial policy."⁴⁴

In the face of this admirable exposition of principles, so satisfactory to the wishes of all groups in the House, is it any wonder that Torrens's plea for "a consistent, uniform and rational"⁴⁵ policy towards the self-governing colonies, was rejected by a handsome majority of 43 votes?

⁴³*Ibid.*, col. 1901.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, col. 1902.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, col. 1907.

LA VÉRENDRYE REACHES THE SASKATCHEWAN

CLIFFORD WILSON

BECAUSE members of the La Vérendrye family were the first to see much of what is now Manitoba, their explorations hold considerable interest for the student of western discovery. The records they left, however, are lamentably indefinite, and this is especially true of the Chevalier de la Vérendrye's journey from the Assiniboine to the Saskatchewan in 1739.

There are four points about this journey which the modern student would like to see clarified: the route which La Vérendrye took to the Saskatchewan, the site he chose for Fort Dauphin, and also for Fort Bourbon, and the extent that he penetrated to the west and north. To answer these four questions as reasonably as possible is the chief purpose of this article.

The standard work on the Vérendryes is the Champlain Society edition of their journals and letters, which, though it was not published until 1927, was prepared by the late Dr. Burpee during the First World War.¹ Owing perhaps to this hiatus, the volume is not one of the society's outstanding publications. The translating and editing too often fall short of the highest scholarly standards, and the editor's identifications of fort sites and canoe routes are not always acceptable to the close student of the subject.² La Vérendrye himself is so tantalizingly vague that he does not state positively whether he built a fort on the site of Winnipeg. He

¹L. J. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and His Sons* (Toronto, 1927).

²For instance, he places Fort Bourbon in no less than four different locations: at the lower end of the Saskatchewan on Cedar Lake (p. 25); at the mouth of the Pasquia River (p. 478); at the mouth of the Moose River on Cedar Lake (p. 486); and at the mouth of the Red Deer River on Lake Winnipegosis (p. 25). The first identification is correct—but not for La Vérendrye's Fort Bourbon. On page 379 the issue is further confused by a statement that the fort at the mouth of the Red Deer was apparently Fort Dauphin, not Fort Bourbon after all. Throughout the translation, "pointe du Bois fort" is held to be a fort, when it was actually a point—"Strong or Thick Woods Point." If it were a fort, it would be called "fort Pointe du Bois." On page 127 reference is made to an English fort on the Red River, which was obviously impossible. The word *de* should be translated as "from," not "on." The note on page 511 identifying François de la Vérendrye as "the cadet" contradicts the note on page 499 that it was Louis-Joseph.

merely reports his intention of building one there, and later (1740) shows it marked on a map.³

But although La Vérendrye's own reports are vague, they do not stand alone, and it is possible to supplement them with other maps and records, by the aid of which a more precise and coherent account can be built up. A case in point is the Chevalier de la Vérendrye's journey to the Saskatchewan in 1739. On this trip he started out from Fort la Reine on the Assiniboine where Portage la Prairie stands now, and went north to choose two other fort sites and have a meeting with the Indians. According to Burpee's account, La Vérendrye portaged from the Assiniboine into Lake Manitoba, paddled north on that lake, crossed a second portage (Meadow) into Lake Winnipegosis, paddled north again to a third portage (Mossy) which he crossed into Cedar Lake, and then paddled up the Saskatchewan as far as the place now known as The Forks, where the north and south branches join.⁴

The Chevalier was certainly an enterprising traveller, and was the first white man to see much of what is now Manitoba; but it is hard to accept the view that he made so ambitious a journey as this. For one thing, he was not instructed to; for another, the earliest description of the journey he made to the Saskatchewan hardly seems to coincide with the one credited to him in modern books. His instructions directed him to do no more than "to look out for a suitable place in which to build a fort on the Lake of the Prairies . . . after which he was to go to the Poskiac River and make an examination of the lower portion at the entrance to the extremity of Lake Nepigon [Ouinipigon] and see if it would not be possible to find there an advantageous position for the erection of a second fort."⁵ The object of his journey, therefore, was to find two places where the western Indians could be intercepted on their way down to the entrance of the Nelson River, coming either by way of Lake Manitoba and the Dauphin River, or by way of the Saskatchewan (Poskiac) mouth.

Leaving the Assiniboine, the Chevalier would cross the *portage la prairie* by heading northeast from Fort la Reine to Portage Creek, and follow that stream down to Lake Manitoba. Today the creek is insignificant, petering out in the marshes south of the lake. But

³*Ibid.*, 245, 308. On this inconclusive evidence, numerous writers of history have stated that Fort Rouge was built at the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine. And even the august Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada has perpetuated the statement in bronze on old Fort Garry gate.

⁴*Ibid.*, 26, 304, 379, 448, 485 ff.

⁵*Ibid.*, 447.

old maps and records show it to have been a much more navigable stream in times past. A memoir of 1749, presumably written by the Chevalier himself, thus describes the route to Fort Dauphin: "Du fort de la Reine, il y a un portage de trois lieues au Nord-Est pour tomber au lac des Prairies. L'on suit le sud du Lac jusqu'à la décharge d'une Rivière, qui vient des grandes Prairies, au bas de laquelle est le fort Dauphin."⁶

Here it will be remarked that only *one* portage is mentioned; nothing is said about a second portage after one embarks on the broad waters of lac des Prairies. La Vérendrye simply paddled along the southern and western shores until the mouth of the river was reached. In other words, the river on which Fort Dauphin was situated flows into lac des Prairies. No name is given to this river in the journals or letters, but on maps it is shown as the rivière de l'Eau trouble (Muddy or Roiled Water).

The most illuminating map in this case is one of 1740, now in the library of the Hydrographic Service of the Marine in Paris, and recently reproduced in Dr. Nute's book, *Rainy River Country*.⁷ Fort Dauphin is not shown on this map, as it was not built until 1741. But a very similar map, found as number 37 in Marcel's *Reproductions de cartes*,⁸ and reproduced here in part, does show it, at the mouth of the river on the right bank. In both these maps a portage is shown between Fort la Reine and lac des Cygnes (or Signes), from which a much-too-wide waterway (presumably Portage Creek) leads to lac des Prairies. From the west, rivière du Bœuf flows into this waterway. The delineation of the area around the southern end of Lake Manitoba is, of course, markedly inaccurate. Yet it is much closer to fact than David Thompson's map of the same area. Rivière du Bœuf seems to conform to the dried-up watercourse that Hind mentions in 1857 as being a springtime tributary of the Portage River.⁹

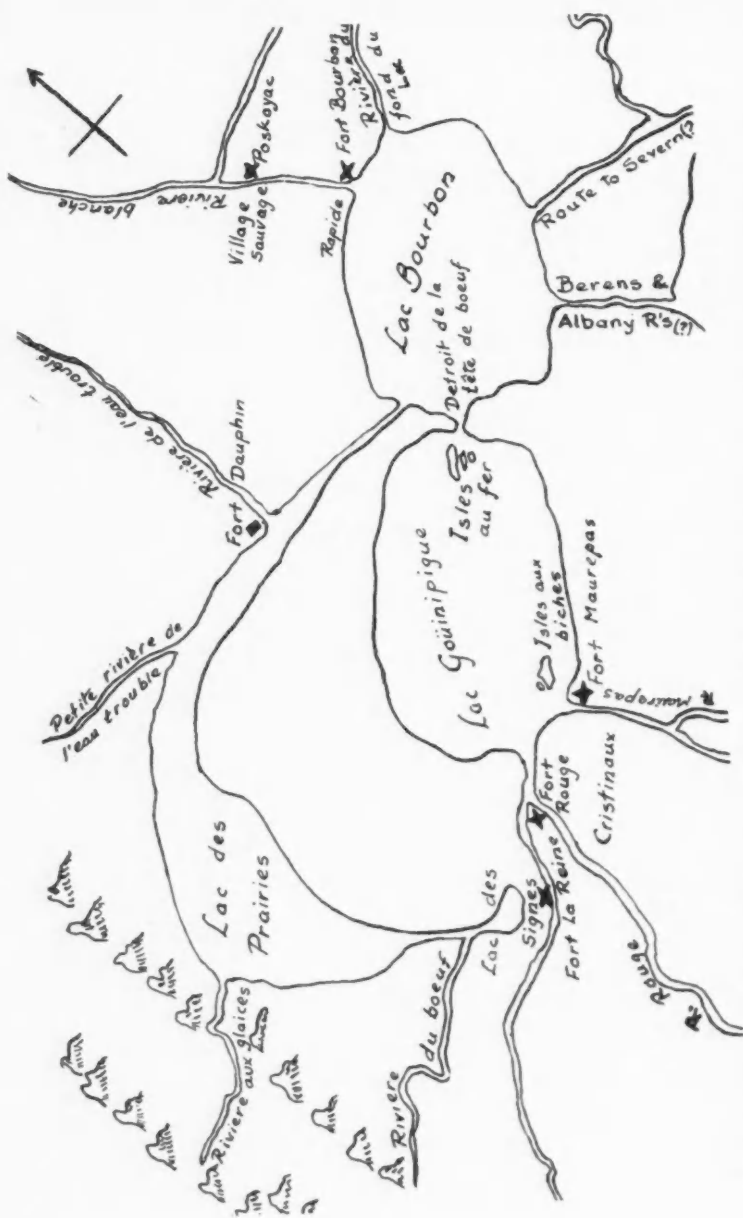
The route then follows the south shore of lac des Prairies, to the mouth of the rivière aux Glaices (evidently the present White-mud River both in name and location) which is shown entering the lake about the middle of a big bulge in the shoreline, the bulge

⁶*Ibid.*, 485.

⁷G. L. Nute, *Rainy River Country* (St. Paul, 1950), 3.

⁸G. A. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes and de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1893), II. This map, rather unsatisfactorily copied, is found as number V in Burpee, ed., *Journals of La Vérendrye*. A tracing of it is found herewith, with suggested interpretations of routes.

⁹H. Y. Hind, *Narrative of the . . . Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858* (London, 1860), I, 440.



MAP 1. A section of a map prepared between 1743 and 1749, traced from Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes*, no. 37. On the original is a note by La Galissonnière: "Faité après les memoires de M. de la Varanderie et fort imparfaite ce qu'il m'a dit." Fort Rouge is shown here on the site of Winnipeg had long been abandoned. Lac Gouiniquie is that lake into which flows the rivière Blanche (the near Bull Head (détroit de la Tête de Bœuf). Lac Bourbon is the northern part of the lake into which flows the rivière Blanche (the Saskatchewan). Rapide at that river's mouth is the Grand Rapid. Lac des Prairies is shown flowing into Lac Bourbon by a river that evidently the present Dauphin. The two adjacent isles au Fer are now known as Hecla, Black, and Punk.

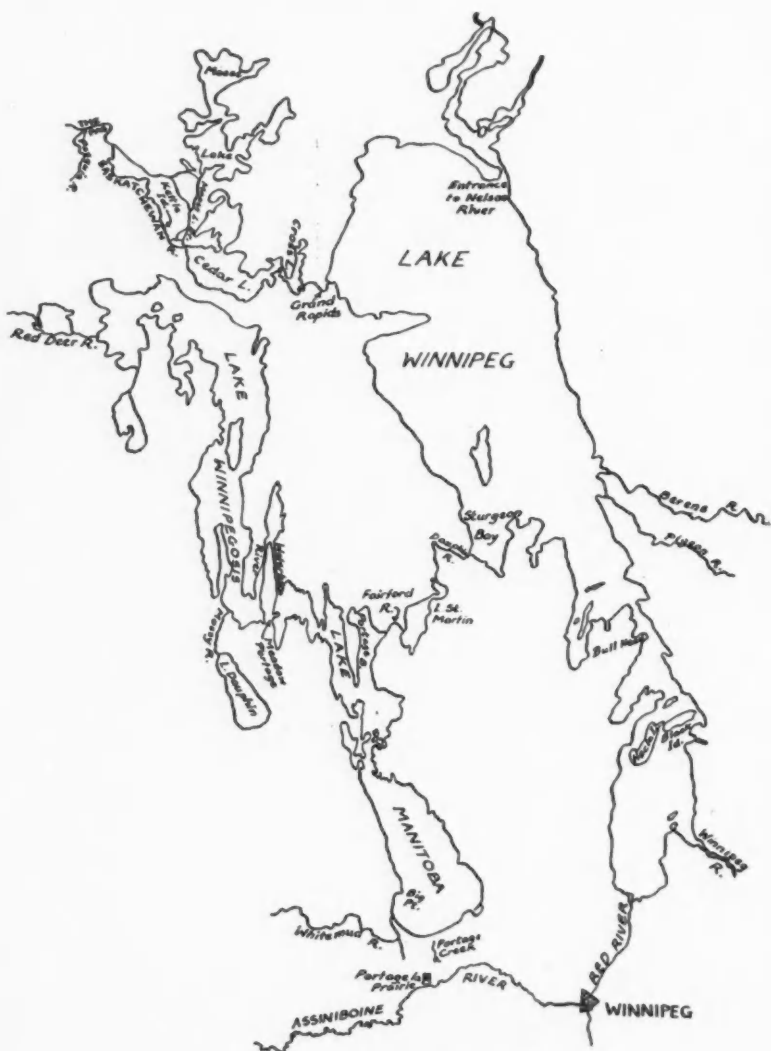
south of Big Point. From this point the west shore actually stretches north-northwest in a nearly straight line for about forty miles; but the 1740 map shows the lake gradually curving round to the north-east and narrowing until it enters "lac Bourbon." On the way there, it is shown receiving two rivers, Petite Rivière de l'Eau trouble from the west and Rivière de l'Eau trouble from the north. It is at the mouth of this latter stream that Marcel's map shows Fort Dauphin to have been situated.

Now the question arises, where was this Muddy River? In order to get some idea of its whereabouts, we must first work out the probable route that the Chevalier took to get to the far end of Lake Winnipeg, where he was going to find a suitable site for his second fort. His description, coupled with the maps, indicates that he followed a curving northeasterly course to get into lac Bourbon. Most writers on the subject have concluded that La Vérendrye's lac Bourbon was Cedar Lake—mainly, it appears, because Alexander Henry the elder refers to it as such in 1775.¹⁰ Cedar Lake went by this name in Henry's time because the second Fort Bourbon was built on its shores by Niverville for St. Pierre. But the maps of La Vérendrye's time indicate that lac Bourbon was originally the northern part of Lake Winnipeg, beyond the "Déroit de la Tête de Bœuf"—that is, the present narrows north of Bull Head. And the easternmost part of the curving waterway falling into lac Bourbon north of this strait is evidently the Dauphin River falling into Sturgeon Bay.

The contemporary evidence cited above, therefore, indicates that to reach Lake Winnipeg on his 1739 journey of exploration, the Chevalier took the route up the west coast of Lake Manitoba into Portage Bay, down the Fairford River into Lake St. Martin, and so on down the Dauphin River into Lake Winnipeg. But before he got there, he chose a site for Fort Dauphin at the mouth of the Muddy River.

It will be noted here that the route suggested does not take La Vérendrye into Lake Winnipegosis. Burpee and almost every other writer on the subject assume that when La Vérendrye spoke of "lac des Prairies" he meant Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis combined. But the grounds for so large an assumption are not very apparent. Considering that La Vérendrye even divided Lake Winnipeg into two or three parts—lacs Quinipigon and lac Bourbon—it is hard to believe that he would lump together these two separate lakes

¹⁰Alexander Henry (the elder), *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories* . . . , James Bain, ed. (Toronto, 1901), 257.



MAP 2. Modern map of the Manitoba lakes district. Portage Creek, near Portage la Prairie, has shrunk considerably since La Vérendrye's day, and the course of the lower Saskatchewan above Cedar Lake is greatly changed.

into one body of water. Lake Manitoba itself is divided in two more definitely than Lake Winnipeg is, by the narrows that are found in each lake.

In order to reach Lake Winnipegosis from Fort la Reine, the canoeist would have to make two portages, one to Portage Creek, as explained above, and another two miles long between Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis. It is hardly likely that any traveller who had been to Lake Winnipegosis by this route would forget to mention a two-mile portage. Only one tenuous shred of evidence exists to indicate that La Vérendrye had ever seen (or even heard of) Lake Winnipegosis, and that is based on some rather dubious philology.¹¹

The view that the Chevalier chose the site for Fort Dauphin on Lake Manitoba is not in fact as strange as it may at first appear to followers of Burpee. Some twenty years before Burpee wrote, such a site as that proposed here for Fort Dauphin was picked by no less shrewd and cautious a student of the early West than Dr. Elliott Coues, who writes: "There is no question in my mind that Vérendrye located his Fort Dauphin at the N.W. angle of Lake Manitoba, at or near the E. end of present Meadow Portage. . . . The map in Ont. Sessional Papers for 1889, XXI Pt. VI, marks the same position. A. Begg's Hist. N.W. I p. 84 and D. Mills Rep. Ont. Gov. are to the identical effect. Almost every indication points clearly to the N.W.

¹¹In his "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle France" of 1757, 16 years after Fort Dauphin was built, Bougainville says that the fort is 80 leagues (about 200 miles) from Fort la Reine and situated on the "rivière Minanghenachequeké ou de l'Eau trouble" (Pierre Margry, éd., *Relations et mémoires inédits*, Paris, 1867, 53). Written in English, the Cree word would probably sound like "Mi-nong-guh-nash-kuh-kay." When J. B. Tyrrell was on the Mossy River, which flows out of Lake Dauphin into Lake Winnipegosis, in 1889, his Indians called that river "Minakweniskegow" (Canada, Geological Survey, *Report*, 1890-1, 70E). Moreover, William Tomison of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was on that river in 1769-70, calls it "Wenakowmiskekow"—or perhaps the transcriber misread that first letter, and it should begin with an "M" rather than a "W." In any case, the last two Indian words are obviously the same. The question remains: was Tyrrell right in saying that the first two were the same? By the time the Cree name for the river had been passed from mouth to mouth by the French—who, as David Thompson remarked, "murder every foreign word" (J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's Narrative*, Toronto, 1916, 435)—and then written down by Bougainville's secretary, it had probably lost most of its resemblance to the original. And considering that we have no other evidence that the La Vérendrye family ever saw or heard of Lake Winnipegosis, and that the Mossy River flows north while the maps show the rivière de l'Eau trouble flowing south, the evidence that Fort Dauphin stood at the mouth of the Mossy River seems altogether too flimsy to be given serious consideration.

"Minakweniskegow," according to Archdeacon R. B. Horsefield of Flin Flon, does not mean "muddy" or anything like it. It probably means either "where the ground is good in patches," or "where the good ground is subject to flooding."

angle of Lake Manitoba, and I see no reason to bring either present Lake Dauphin or present Lake St. Martin into the case."¹²

If we accept the premise that Fort Dauphin was in this part of Lake Manitoba the question at once arises, where was the river flowing south at the mouth of which the fort was situated? There is only one river of any size flowing into Lake Manitoba north of the Whitemud, and that is the Waterhen, which does flow south. Moreover, a little way upstream from its mouth was an excellent site for a fort. Henry Y. Hind describes how his party entered the mouth of the Waterhen and found an attractive camping-place where the woods came down to the water's edge, where fish were very numerous and waterfowl abundant. There was tamarack and birch for firewood, and white spruce which would have been excellent for building the log fort and houses.¹³

The chief argument against the Waterhen being the "Muddy" is that its waters are usually clear. Hind describes them as "clear and brilliant," and George Butler, supervisor of fish culture for the Manitoba Government, states that the east branch of the Waterhen (the southward flowing one) has a hard, rocky bottom throughout most of its length. "If the water happened to be muddy," he remarks, "it would probably be after periods of high northerly winds had stirred up the mud near the delta of the west river."¹⁴ All this, of course, is circumstantial evidence. We can never be sure where the first Fort Dauphin was built. But the indications furnished by the relevant documents and the topography itself point to the mouth of the Waterhen as the most likely spot.

The same evidence suggests that the Chevalier did not cross Meadow Portage into Lake Winnipegosis but, on the contrary, followed down the Dauphin River into Lake Winnipeg. His instructions from his father were to go to the far end of Lake Winnipeg and find a second fort site "at the mouth of the great river Paskoyac,"¹⁵ and to reach that point from the Dauphin River he would coast the western shore of "lac Bourbon" until he came to the mouth of the Saskatchewan.

¹²Alexander Henry the younger, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, Elliott Coues, ed. (New York, 1897), 175.

¹³Hind, *Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Expedition*, II, 40.

¹⁴See also Canada, Department of Public Works, Canadian Pacific Railway, *Report of Progress on the Explorations and Surveys up to January, 1874* (Ottawa, 1874), 260; and Canada, Geological Survey, *Report*, 1874-5, 62. S. N. Cooper, chief forester of the Manitoba Paper Company, writing to the author Jan. 29, 1932, states: "The Waterhen is muddy-muddier than the Mossy—and at times (after storms) is very muddy." In other words, the river is sometimes clear, sometimes turbid.

¹⁵Burpee, ed., *Journals of La Vérendrye*, 454.

That great river went by a variety of names in La Vérendrye's time. The name which is variously spelt Pasquia, Paskoyac, Pasquayah, Poskiac, and so on, actually referred to the Saskatchewan above Cedar Lake, as Alexander Henry remarks.¹⁶ Taking into account the eighteenth-century French pronunciation, that name would be spelt in English something like "Paskeyaw." According to Father Lacombe's Cree dictionary, its meaning is "there are branches," referring no doubt to the river's course through the marshes above Cedar Lake. The lower part of the river, between Cross Lake and Lake Winnipeg, was known to the French as *rivière de Bourbon*,¹⁷ *rivière aux Biches*, or *rivière Blanche*. And the evidence would indicate that it was at the end of this lower part that the first Fort Bourbon was built. The map of 1740 plainly shows it at the mouth of the *rivière Blanche* opposite a "rapide" which can be none other than the Grand Rapid.¹⁸ It would have been an excellent site for a fort: it was on one of the main routes from the west to Hudson Bay; the ground there is high, dry, and well wooded; and the Indians congregated there (as they still do) in the fall to catch whitefish and in the spring to catch sturgeon.

From the Lake Winnipeg mouth of the Saskatchewan the Chevalier would have ascended the river, passed through Cross and Cedar lakes, and come to the delta. His farthest west on this trip was evidently "la fourche, où est le rendezvous, tous les printemps, des Cristinos des Montagnes, Prairies, et Rivières, pour délibérer ce qu'ils doivent faire, soit pour aller chez les François ou chez les Anglois."¹⁹

The phrase "la fourche" used here seems to be the only reason for supposing that the Chevalier ever saw the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan rivers, which we now call The Forks. But in any river that receives tributaries there are many "forks," and the great fork of the Saskatchewan, which is so called today, was not the rendezvous where "every spring the Cree of the Mountains, Prairies, and Rivers" met "to discuss what they should do, go to the French or the English."

¹⁶Alexander Henry (the elder), *Travels and Adventures*, 255.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Bougainville's memoir referred to above (n. 11) states: "Le fort Bourbon est . . . situé à l'entrée du lac Ouimpeg." The memoir of 1749 states that in order to reach the fort, you coast along the shore of Lake Winnipeg until you come to it. La Vérendrye's report to Beauharnois covering the year 1737 states that at the mouth of the River Blanche there is a rapid over half a league long, obviously Grand Rapid. (Burpee, ed., *Journals of La Vérendrye*, 485, 246.) The translation in the latter reference is wrongly punctuated, while that of the former should read "where Fort Bourbon is, close to the lake [not a lake] of the same name."

¹⁹Burpee, ed., *Journals of La Vérendrye*, 487, 490.

This description calls to mind two similar accounts of an Indian rendezvous on the Saskatchewan, both of which are quoted in C. N. Bell's *Journal of Henry Kelsey* read before the Manitoba Historical Society on May 24, 1928.²⁰ The first is Kelsey's own: "I was at Deering's Point in the spring [of 1692] which is the place of resortance when they are coming down to trade." The second is that of Joseph La France as recorded by Arthur Dobbs. He speaks of Lake Pachegoia (Paskoyac) "which is the lake where all the Indians assemble in the latter end of March in every year to cut the birch trees and make their canoes of the bark . . . in order to pass down the river to York Fort . . . with their furs."

Dr. Bell argues convincingly that Lake Pachegoia was Cedar Lake and that Deering's Point was also at Cedar Lake, in the delta of the Saskatchewan. It seems highly likely that Kelsey, La France, and the writer of the 1749 memoir—who wrote of the same period as Dobbs did—were all speaking of the same meeting-place, and that "la fourche" was the junction of the two rivers, the main Saskatchewan and the Moose Lake branch, forming the V-shaped "neck of land" that Kelsey named Deering's Point, situated a little way upstream from Cedar Lake. It was to this general locality that Fort Bourbon was moved from the mouth of the Saskatchewan.²¹

This, certainly, is the first fork the Chevalier would come to on his way up the Poskoyac. Today, the waters of the two rivers meet at several different points; but in the days when Muddy Lake was still a receptacle for the Saskatchewan mud, the confluence was in all probability more clearly defined. The courses of the Saskatchewan and the Moose Lake branch are continually changing, and the latter, which is really a loop of the former swollen by the waters of Moose River, may easily have been at one time the main stream. David Thompson's map shows how their courses have altered since 1790. Muddy Lake, which Hind describes as "a dilatation of the Saskatchewan in a northerly direction" about two miles wide and four long, is shown much larger than on the map in Hind's book, and west of the mouth of the Moose Lake Branch. Alexander Mackenzie reported that the lake was filling up, and it has now almost completely disappeared.

Hind, moreover, states that near Muddy Lake there was a rocky "point of the river . . . eight chains long and four broad . . . a favorite camping and fishing place of the Swampy Crees, there being on it

²⁰Transaction no. 4, n.s. (Winnipeg, 1928).

²¹Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal . . . through the Continent of North America* . . . (London, 1801), lxviii.

a clump of good-sized poplar. . . . Here they hold their great councils, dog-feasts, and medicine dances. Its name in Swampy is *Kash-ke-bu-jes-pu-qua-ne-shing*, signifying 'tying the mouth of a drum.'"²² There is a possibility that this was Deering's Point; but it is difficult to imagine several hundred Indians camping together on a place only 176 yards long and 88 yards wide.

After the meeting of all the Crees was over, the Chevalier probably returned to Lake Winnipeg by the way he had come. His father's orders were to take note of the rivers flowing into that lake, and of its discharge, and to make the circuit of its shore.²³ He, therefore, must have struck north from the mouth of the Saskatchewan, paddled round the shore to where the lake discharges into the Nelson, then down the east coast to the Red River, perhaps crossing to the west coast at the lower narrows where he had been instructed to visit the isle au Fer (Black Island). Probably he called at Fort Maurepas, then near the mouth of the Winnipeg River; and so by the Red and Assiniboine back to Fort la Reine.

In brief, a study of the available records now indicates that the Chevalier de la Vérendrye on his journey of 1739 chose the site for Fort Dauphin (built by his brother Pierre in 1741) at the mouth of the Waterhen River on Lake Manitoba, not at the mouth of the Mossy on Lake Winnipegosis; reached the Saskatchewan River by way of Lake St. Martin and Lake Winnipeg, not by way of the Meadow Portage, Lake Winnipegosis, and Mossy Portage; built Fort Bourbon near the Lake Winnipeg mouth of the Saskatchewan, not near the Cedar Lake mouth; and penetrated westwards no farther than the Saskatchewan delta.

²²Franklin's party encamped near here on Devil's Drum Island in Muddy Lake, in October, 1819 (J. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, London, 1823, 47). Alexander Henry the younger speaks of entering Lac Vaseux (Muddy Lake) in 1808 and seeing a tent of Swampies on "Isle aux Festions" which Coues identifies as "Isle aux Festins . . . also called Kettle Island and Drum or Devil's Drum Island. . . . Fleming notes here a low limestone exposure in situ and his map legends 'Great Indian Camping Place.' " (*New Light*, II, 468.)

²³Burpee, *Journals of La Vérendrye*, 357.

THE WINTERING PARTNERS AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1863 TO 1871

DUANE C. TWAY

AS some men toiled in the 1860's to unite the British North American colonies politically, others who looked forward to physical union, a "dominion from sea to sea," saw the western prairies as essential to that development. The prairies, held under charter by the Hudson's Bay Company, were the centre of its fur trade. The wintering partners of the Company, who conducted the trade in the field and received as their only remuneration, over and above subsistence allowances, 40 per cent of the net profits of the trade, considered maintenance of the status quo in the area essential to the trade's existence. For the wintering partners knew well the stories of the "peddlers" and the North West Company and the injury done to the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company by their competition.

Unfortunately for the partners the fur trade as practised in 1860 was rapidly disappearing before the advance of civilization. The wintering partners, quite naturally, resisted change, but by 1870 the Company's monopoly was gone. Some of the partners conformed to the new order and were happy, others conformed but remained bitter, while still others left the service convinced that they had been ill-treated by the Company. Stories of this ill-treatment have been perpetuated, perhaps with some basis in fact. As will be pointed out in this study, however, charges levelled at the Company have been both over simplified and too much generalized.

In 1862 a group interested in connecting all of British North America by railway, road, and telegraph approached the Hudson's Bay Company with an offer to purchase the land requisite to that project. The negotiations thus opened led, in 1863, to the sale of the Company to the International Financial Society. This group increased the stock of the Company by £500,000, on the basis of the value of its land, and found willing buyers. By the summer of 1863 the Hudson's Bay Company was owned by persons apparently interested in the profit to be made on the sale of land in the Canadian prairies. The wintering partners believed that promotion of land sales was inimical to the continuation of the fur trade. These differences in outlook alone were sufficient to strain the relations between the partners and the Company. Unfortunately, circumstances attendant on the sale of the Company had instilled in the

partners a distrust which they transferred to the new Company, and before harmony could be restored other difficulties arose which further intensified and prolonged the discord.

The breach in the relations of the partners and the Company arose in 1863. The negotiations which led to the sale of the Company to the International Financial Society were carried on in secret, as had been less fruitful negotiations with the Imperial Government. Rumours of the impending transaction soon reached some of the wintering partners, who addressed the following letter to the directors of the Company on January 23, 1863:

Gentlemen: Rumors assuming daily more consistency and the appearance of being being founded on facts, have reached us that negotiations are pending between the Imperial Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, for the surrender of the chartered rights of the company, with a view to opening up the territory for settlement. Those negotiations, it is reported, have proceeded so far that it is only now a question of the amount of the indemnity to be paid for the surrender.

The Fur Trade in which we are partners is based on the Charter, its surrender would, by leading to the loss of that trade, seriously affect our pecuniary interests. We therefore, trust you will pardon the anxiety we feel to learn whether, in the reported negotiations, the claims of the wintering partners in the concern have received that consideration to which we consider they are justly entitled.

Our interests are at present left unrepresented, but we may find it desirable to make arrangements for supplying the defect.

In the meantime, we shall be glad to receive from you, at your early convenience, such information on these important matters, as you feel at liberty to communicate.¹

Thomas Fraser, Secretary of the Company, assured the partners that the Imperial Government was not going to take any action in the matter. He stated that the Governor and Committee were unable to understand why the partners considered themselves unrepresented, since the Company would never surrender the charter without fully consulting their interests.² Unfortunately, this reply gave no indication of the impending sale of the Company to the International Financial Society.³ When, shortly thereafter, notice of

¹*Canada, Sessional Papers, 1867-8, I (no. 7, number 19), 8.* (The signers were: George Barnston, C.F., Wm. Sinclair, C.F., John Swanston, C.F., James Hargrave, ret. C.F., Robert Miles, ret. C.F., James Anderson, ret. C.F.)

²*Ibid.*, 8-9.

³*Ibid.* (It is difficult to accept George Bryce's explanation in *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1900), 450-3, that "so thoroughly secret had the interviews between the London parties been carried on that the officials of the London office knew nothing of them . . ." Secretary Fraser was directed to write this reply, as he stated, by the Governor and Committee. Governor Berens was the first person approached by Mr. Watkin.)

that sale appeared the partners were alarmed. Although this transaction did not involve the surrender of the charter, the wintering partners apparently believed that, since the new shareholders might have objects at variance with former Company policy, the directors of the Company should have consulted the partners prior to the sale.

Under the terms of the Deed Poll⁴ which regulated the relationship between the partners and the Company there appears to have been no legal obligation on the directors to consult the wintering partners. However, the partners felt that the directors were morally so obligated. At least "from the stand point of what is called by present-day businessmen 'good public relations' it would have been eminently desirable."⁵ Thus the partners viewed the new Company, organized in the summer of 1863, with considerable suspicion. They were further alarmed by its prospectus,⁶ which indicated that the stock of the Company had been increased on the basis of the value of its land. The partners knew that that value could be realized only if the land were settled, and settlement would reduce if not entirely negate the value of the fur trade.

The state of disturbance occasioned among the partners by these circumstances was indicated by Edward Watkin, who had opened the negotiations for land in 1862, had helped form the International Financial Society, and was a member of the Committee of the new Company. He stated that it was to him not surprising "that an influential member of the body should have predicted a general resignation of the factors 'from Labrador to Sitka' followed by a confederation amongst them, in order to carry on the fur trade in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company, they possessing, as was said, 'the skill, the will and the capital to do it.'"⁷

Other Company officials were fully aware of the partners' apprehension. Alexander G. Dallas, Governor for the Company in Canada, wrote to the partners on July 28, 1863, attempting to assuage their fears concerning the changed ownership of the Company. He assured them that no alteration had been made in the constitution or powers of the Company.⁸ But the remainder of the letter, referring

⁴"Deed Poll of 1821," in E. E. Rich and R. Harvey Fleming, eds., *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, 1817-1822* (Toronto, 1939), 331, Appendix.

⁵John S. Galbraith, "Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863-1869," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVI, Dec., 1949, 461.

⁶*Prospectus of the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1863), photostatic copy, University Library, University of California at Los Angeles.

⁷Sir Edward W. Watkin, *Canada and the United States, 1851 to 1886* (London, 1887), 192.

⁸Letter quoted in Beckles Willson, *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* (Boston, 1915), I, 182.

to the point which most perturbed the partners, the Company's interest in the sale of land, was so vague and ambiguous that it could not possibly have had the pacifying effect intended.

The Governor and Committee of the Company in London also took steps to mollify the partners. They wished it to be clearly understood that profit from land was not to be realized until there was a demand produced by migration into the area. Meanwhile, at least, they had no intention of abandoning the fur trade which would remain the Company's main source of profit. They reported to the shareholders in November, 1863:

On taking charge of the affairs of the Company in July last, the Committee felt that one of their first duties was to remove all misapprehension on the part of the officers and servants, by whose agency the operations of the Company are carried on in North America. They lost no time therefore in assuring those gentlemen that it was their desire and intention to carry on the business as usual, and to respect all those rights which have accrued under the system hitherto pursued. The Committee felt convinced that the interests of Proprietors of Stocks will be best promoted by scrupulous good faith and liberality in all dealings with those on whose exertions the Fur Trade must depend for its success. In the zeal and energy of those gentlemen as a body the Committee believe that full confidence may be placed.⁹

These efforts to restore good relations with the partners might have been successful except for another problem which came to the fore at that time. The remuneration received by the partners had been steadily decreasing owing to a decline in the trade profits. This, added to "the unsatisfactory prospect for the future held out by the existing Deed Poll, together with the very doubtful tendency of the various expenses proposed for the developing of the country by the new proprietors,"¹⁰ increased the partners' lack of confidence in the Company. Consequently they proposed that each partner be guaranteed an annual income, £350 for each chief trader and £700 for each chief factor, or that the Deed Poll be replaced by a salary system.¹¹

The Company countered with a proposal that the partners send a representative to London to work out a solution of the existing difficulties.¹² This the partners hesitated to do because of the delay which appointment of a representative and his passage to London would involve.¹³ Instead they suggested that the Committee send out proposals for settling the differences.¹⁴ Unfortunately fur-

⁹*The Report of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to Be Laid before the Shareholders*, Nov. 24, 1863, I. (Hereafter these reports are cited as *Report to the Shareholders*, or simply *Report*.)

¹⁰Letter quoted in Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona*, I, 196.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 197.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

ther negotiations were delayed by the uncertainty of the directors as to the rights possessed by the wintering partners under the Deed Poll. Pending an opinion from legal authority on these rights the Committee felt unable to take further action.¹⁵ In the interim new problems arose to further complicate the relations between the partners and the Company.

In August, 1865, four retired partners called attention to two additional problems.¹⁶ First, they stated that they were entitled to share in any money which might be paid to the Hudson's Bay Company by the United States Government for damages to the Company resulting from the Oregon boundary treaty. Secondly, they claimed that they had been unfairly used by the Company when it purchased from them their shares in the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. They insisted that when they had been advised to sell "at par value without interest," they had not been told that the Company would make a claim to the United States for damages to that agricultural venture. To the partners it appeared that this information had been deliberately withheld in order that the Hudson's Bay Company might buy the partners' shares and then obtain all the award from the United States for itself.

For some reason the reply to this letter made no mention of the partners' claim to share in the award to the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁷ Probably the directors felt that this hinged upon legal interpretation of the Deed Poll which they were then in the process of obtaining. Referring to the matter of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company the Committee stated that when the advice was given that the partners should sell "at par value without interest" no action had been taken towards making a claim against the United States. They insisted that the advice had been tendered in good faith and pointed out that it had been accepted voluntarily by the partners concerned.¹⁸

This reply did not satisfy some of the partners. Consequently they drew up a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies, dated March 6, 1866, including several letters, as evidence of the injustices which they were suffering. The opening paragraph aptly demonstrates the partners' dissatisfaction with developments since

¹⁵*Proceedings of the General Court of the Hudson's Bay Company* (hereafter cited as *Proceedings*), Nov. 20, 1866, 2-3.

¹⁶*Canada, Sessional Papers*, I (no. 7, number 19), 9-10. (This paper is dated 1867, but was no doubt written in 1865 since it refers to recent action taken by Governor Dallas while he was still Governor in Canada for the Company. He retired in 1864, therefore this letter could not have been written in 1867.)

¹⁷*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1867-8, I (no. I, number 19), 10-11.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

1863 and their conviction that they would not likely be well treated in the future:

In the present state of selling and change of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs we consider it required by justice, likely to prevent further evil, and tending towards a wiser and impartial course to place our interests under the immediate protection of Her Majesty's Government. We feel assured that better consideration will be had from it than from any board in Fenchurch Street. The Old Company sold their "Perpetual Succession" and us along with it, suddenly and without previous notice to the Governor of the Territory or to the Trade, and by that act introduced a most disturbed state of feeling and business. General distress arose from the breach of the long acknowledged understanding of the relations subsisting between the company in London and the Trading Body on this side. The latter were treated as menials who could be transferred wholesale without explanation or notice, to different concerns, seeking objects not before contemplated in the business, objects likely to affect the Fur Traders more than any shareholders at home. Yet the home shareholders were given the opportunity of retiring with a high premium, while the Trade was forced to chew the cud in silence under the new order of things.¹⁹

The Imperial Government took no action in this instance. There was of course little it could do since this was strictly an intra-company affair. It is probable, however, that the attempt of some of the partners to obtain government intervention served as additional evidence to the Governor and Committee of the need to reach an agreement as rapidly as possible.

In the spring of 1866 the Company received the legal opinion regarding the partners' rights under the Deed Poll. Sir Hugh Cairns of Lincoln's Inn, soon to be appointed Attorney-General, had "on a superficial examination, taken a mere *ex parte* view of the case."²⁰ The Committee hoped that this opinion might serve as the basis for agreement; such hopes were too sanguine, however, for the partners protested that the instructions to counsel had been "one-sided" and betrayed an inclination to deprive them of their privileges under the Deed Poll.²¹

At the same time the partners cited a new source of difficulty. The original purchase of the Company's headquarters property in London had been charged against fur-trade expenses. As such expenses were paid out of the gross income of the trade prior to dividing profits with the wintering partners, the latter claimed that they should share in any profit arising from those expenditures. Since the value of the property had increased they now put forth a claim to a share of that increase.²²

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 6-8.

²⁰Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona*, 221.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*, 220, 221.

While new problems were thus arising to complicate the restoration of good relations with the partners, the directors were further hampered by the fact that among the shareholders there was a broad disagreement as to the policy the Company should pursue. Some shareholders, having entered the Company in the belief that they would make immediate profit from sale of land, now began to press the Committee for action.²³ The directors, however, realized that such profit would be forthcoming only when settlers moving into the prairies created a demand for land. As there was then no such demand, the directors believed that the Company must either wait until the demand developed or undertake a programme of colonization.²⁴ The latter policy would necessitate creating governing agencies, establishing and maintaining communications, and controlling the Indians. The directors opposed such a policy because it would be very expensive and could only be achieved with the full co-operation of the wintering partners, who knew the country and the Indians.²⁵ The Committee realized that until a settlement of differences with the partners was achieved this co-operation would not be forthcoming. Consequently the directors proposed that the company not undertake a programme of colonization. In attempting to convince the shareholders of the sagacity of this proposal Governor Sir Edmund Head showed a deep understanding of the attitude of the wintering partners:

Our officers would certainly not be disposed to cooperate heartily in this object, and the difficulty of changing their organization for such a purpose would be great. The whole system has been arranged with a view to carrying on the Fur Trade and the emoluments of the Chief Factors and Chief Traders depend on the profits of that trade. If they were called on to devote their energies to the sale of land and the erection of a telegraph they must do so on the conviction that their interests would be promoted by the change. No such conviction, we are able to say with confidence, exists among them now. A scheme might no doubt be devised for purchasing their interests and turning their energies into another channel, on some terms of advantage to themselves contingent on the success of the colonization; but such a scheme would be costly in itself, nugatory in its results, unless they believed in the probability of gain to be reaped from this new field of exertion. This is so far from being the case, that nothing has so alarmed and disquieted the Chief Factors and Chief Traders, and indisposed them toward the altered form of this company as the vague apprehension which they have entertained that colonization was to be carried out by their agency, whilst capital was diverted, and the attention of the Directors called off from the fur trade.²⁶

²³*Report*, July 5, 1866, 14, 19, 20.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 14-16.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 21-2.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 23.

Despite this strong recommendation against colonizing, a determined group pushed the question to a ballot in which the Committee's proposal won overwhelming support.²⁷ Governor Head chose to consider the vote on this proposal a test of the shareholders' confidence in the directors. It appears that he did so because the directors were determined to avoid any new policy which would prevent them from reaching an agreement with the partners.²⁸

When, in the fall of 1866, Edward Watkin expressed regret that a proper agreement with the wintering partners had not been achieved, and urged the Committee's attention to the matter,²⁹ Governor Head replied: "...in regard to the factor question the committee were as anxious at Mr. Watkin himself to bring it to a satisfactory solution, but at present there was a difference of opinion as to the legal position those gentlemen held in relation to the shareholders. When that position was ascertained the committee would be prepared to deal with the chief factors and traders liberally."³⁰ At the time this statement was made the opinion of Sir Hugh Cairns had been rejected by the partners. Consequently settlement of the broad question of the legal relationship of the partners and the Company was to require negotiation over and above legal opinion. Meanwhile by the summer of 1868 one difference between the partners and the Company had been solved. A friendly suit had been entered in the Chancery Court regarding the profit arising from the Company's headquarters property. The Vice-Chancellor had decided that the value thereof had increased £36,127 14s. 8d. and that two-fifths of that sum should be given to the wintering partners.³¹

This decision satisfied the partners and it is possible that the other outstanding differences might have been settled more easily had it not been for the desire of the Dominion of Canada to purchase Rupert's Land from the Company. Negotiations begun in October, 1868 led to an agreement on March 9, 1869 by which the Company would surrender title to Rupert's Land to the Crown, which would then transfer title to Canada. In return the Company was to receive £300,000, to retain its trading posts in the area, and also retain as Company-owned property one-twentieth of the land in the fertile belt.

The sale of the land to Canada would mean the abrogation of the monopoly in the fur trade, and the partners generally were

²⁷*Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1866, 13.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 12.

²⁹*Proceedings*, Nov. 20, 1866, 2.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 2-3.

³¹*Report*, July 7, 1868, 8.

opposed to such action. Furthermore, this development was not welcomed by some of the Company's shareholders, who were disappointed in the amount of money involved.³² These men had entertained hopes of huge profit from land sales ever since the Company had been reorganized.³³ In addition they feared that, since the Chancery Court had decided that the wintering partners should share in the profit from the headquarters property, the partners might also get two-fifths of this £300,000.³⁴ This group was defeated and the proposed settlement with Canada agreed to, but the discussion had caused relations between the partners and the Company to deteriorate further. Moreover, the settlement with Canada was completed without a decision as to whether the wintering partners should share in the payment.³⁵ The sale of Rupert's Land thus added considerably to the dissatisfaction of the partners.

Still another source of controversy was added in the fall of 1869 when the International Joint Commission announced that the Company had been awarded \$450,000 gold for its claim against the United States.³⁶ The wintering partners had put forth a claim to share in that award and in its *Report to the Shareholders* the Committee stated that the partners claimed a share. At the meeting of the General Court of Proprietors a group of shareholders raised objection to the *Report*. First they argued that from the way the *Report* was worded it would appear that the Committee took for granted the partners' right to share the American award. When the Governor and Committee pointed out that they had merely meant to convey the information that the partners had made such a claim, it was agreed to reword the report to please the dissident shareholders.³⁷ The objectors then argued that the claim the partners put forth should not be accepted. Hastily they drew a parallel between the money paid by Canada for Rupert's Land and the award from the United States for damages to the Company's land in Oregon. And since they opposed sharing the money paid by Canada they also opposed sharing the American award.³⁸

In answering this objection the Governor, Sir Stafford Northcote, explained that the difference between the Oregon territory and the land transferred to Canada lay in the fact that the former had been improved and the cost of improvement had been charged to the fur trade. Furthermore, the partners had worked in making the improve-

³²*Proceedings*, March 24, 1869, 21-2.

³³*Ibid.*, 22, 24-34.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 59-60.

³⁵*Ibid.*, April 9, 1869, 30.

³⁶*Report*, Nov. 23, 1869, 6.

³⁷*Proceedings*, Nov. 23, 1869, 11, 14.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 12-14.

ments. They had cultivated the land, enclosed it, and constructed buildings on it, while Rupert's Land was "wild land" the value of which was in no way affected by the activity of the wintering partners.³⁹

Although the Company had agreed to the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1869, the outbreak of the Riel Rebellion delayed the transfer until 1870. Meanwhile no decision had been reached regarding the partners' claim to either the Canadian payment or the Oregon award. By June, 1870, the Company had been advised by legal authority that the partners had no right to share the former. Chief Trader Roderick MacFarlane, in England on furlough, protested, in a letter to the Governor, that this opinion had been obtained "one-sidedly," and he requested that the partners be given opportunity to obtain an opinion on their view of the case.⁴⁰

When Governor Northcote informed the shareholders in July, 1870 that the transfer had been completed he made no mention of this request.⁴¹ In view of this omission it might be assumed that Sir Stafford was not as sympathetic to the partners as Governor Head had been. Such was not the case. Sir Stafford believed that with monopoly gone the profits of the Company were more than ever dependent upon the good will of the wintering partners, and that, therefore, a new agreement satisfactory both to them and to the Company must be reached quickly.⁴²

At the Committee's request the partners had decided in 1869 to send to London Donald A. Smith, Governor of the Company in Canada, to act as their representative. Before he could take passage to London, Smith was sent by the Canadian Government as a special commissioner to deal with the Riel Rebellion. As a consequence the partners were still not officially represented in London when the stockholders met in November, 1870.

Prior to the meeting the shareholders had been informed that one-half of the award from the United States had been paid, and that in the opinion of the Company's solicitor the wintering partners were entitled to their share of it.⁴³ Objections to this decision were raised shortly after the meeting convened. Some of the shareholders persisted in confusing the American award and the Canadian money, and continued to insist that to share the former would jeopardize the

³⁹*Ibid.*, 18.

⁴⁰Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona*, I, 419-21.

⁴¹*Proceedings*, July 5, 1870, 2 ff.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 13.

⁴³*Report*, Nov. 22, 1870, 6-7.

Company's right to all of the latter.⁴⁴ The Committee was convinced that the solicitor's decision was correct, but, to assuage this determined group, consented to place the matter before other legal counsel.⁴⁵

Chief Factor Robert Campbell, in England on furlough, had been in attendance at this meeting. In letters on January 31 and June 2, 1871 to Roderick MacFarlane, Campbell indicated that he was convinced that the shareholders had opposed the sharing of the money because of personal greed rather than because of the legal technicalities they raised against it. The letters are of added interest because they indicate that the Committee was, in Campbell's opinion, well disposed towards the factors. He wrote:

I did not visit the Hudson's Bay House, London, 'til invited to attend the great meeting of shareholders 22nd November. Mr. James Anderson, C.F., and myself were present as Hudson's Bay Officers. We both met a very kind reception from the Governor and the Board. But, as for the shareholders, we were perfectly disgusted with the greed and selfishness they evinced in their speeches, and a great many were present at the meeting.⁴⁶

. . . I have no doubt the Board are well disposed to us and are inclined to do us all the justice in their power; but the shareholders are wild in front of them so that the Directors are wedged in on all sides and are in a bad fix. I have no doubt the next meeting will be a stormy one . . .⁴⁷

In opening the June, 1871 meeting, Governor Northcote stated that the Committee proposed to reorganize completely the Company's business because, while it intended to continue the fur trade, it hoped to realize profit from the land it retained in the fertile belt. While the partners were admirably suited to conduct the fur trade they were not so well fitted to carry on any other business the Company might decide to undertake. In addition, under the present arrangement the partners were in no way obligated or disposed to conduct such other business.⁴⁸ In reviewing the relations between the Company and the partners the Governor indicated that there would be full consultation with the latter in working out a new agreement.⁴⁹ He advised that the shareholders should deal liberally with the partners in order to reach a new agreement. "Liberality" was required, he believed, for several reasons. Since 1863 the Company's profits and therefore the partners' remuneration had been low. When the Company, acting upon legal advice, had not shared the Canadian money with the partners, the latter

⁴⁴*Proceedings*, Nov. 22, 1870, 11-14.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁴⁶Beckles Willson, *Life of Lord Strathcona*, I, 423.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, I, 425.

⁴⁸*Proceedings*, June 28, 1871, 2-8.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 8.

had been keenly disappointed. The partners were even more disappointed when the Company had retained all of the award from the United States, for legal opinion had stated that although the Company was not legally bound to share the award there appeared to be a strong moral obligation to do so. In addition, if a settlement which would meet these grievances were not made the partners might leave the Company, thus depriving it of their valuable abilities in the fur trade, and moreover they might even form a business in opposition to the Company.⁵⁰

Northcote held that, in order to effect a proper settlement, it would be necessary to close the old Deed Poll by paying each partner a lump sum for his retiring interests under that agreement. This necessity arose from the peculiar mechanism under which the instrument operated. In effect, each year the active officers contributed 7/85 of their profit to the retired officers. As each officer retired he in turn shared for a certain period in the profits earned by the active partners. If the Deed Poll were to be closed, each partner would have to be paid a sum equitable to the retirement he would have received if the arrangement had continued in force.⁵¹

The partners' representative, Donald A. Smith, had requested for this purpose a sum larger than the Committee had thought equitable, and they had offered instead £75,000. Smith had agreed to accept that amount providing the partners received their share of the American award. The Committee had refused to share that money, but in order to deal liberally with the partners had offered them a bonus of £31,000.⁵²

The Governor therefore asked the shareholders to authorize the payment of these sums. One group of shareholders opposed the action, arguing that the Committee was in effect bribing the partners to give up the Deed Poll and then bribing them to accept the bribe.⁵³ After much haggling a large majority voted in favour of the Governor's proposal.⁵⁴ Since this decision would affect each shareholder financially the Governor suggested that the meeting adjourn for thirteen days and send out notices to all shareholders that the question would be decided at the next meeting.⁵⁵ This step evidenced both the Governor's spirit of fairness and his desire not to take the action until the strength of the opposition among all shareholders was determined.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 12.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 38.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁵³*Proceedings*, June 28, 1871, 27, 40; July 12, 1871, 21-2.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, adjourned meeting, June 29, 1871, 43.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 49.

When the next meeting was held another day was spent in haggling. At the close of the following day it was announced that the majority for the proposal was overwhelming.⁵⁶ As a result the partners were paid what eventually amounted to £107,000, the old Deed Poll was closed, and a new one drawn up. The partners who remained in the Company's service did so of their own free will, fully aware that in the future the fur trade would be only one of the businesses in which they might be utilized.

After the agitation which had grown up among the wintering partners from 1863 to 1870, it is not surprising that this settlement failed to satisfy each of them on all scores. No financial settlement could mollify the ill feeling resulting from the lack of consultation with the partners by the old Company in 1863. Neither the monetary bonus nor the legal correctness of the Company's action could ameliorate the unpleasantness which was engendered by the Company's failure to give the partners a share in the American award and the Canadian money. This series of events worsened the relations between the partners and the Company, but it hardly adds up to the charge of bad faith on the part of the Company that has frequently been made by its critics.

Perhaps the most persistent charge has been that the Company wilfully neglected the partners in order to line the pockets of the shareholders. Such an accusation is at least an over-simplification. Although there is evidence to show that some of the shareholders were more interested in their own profits than in the wintering partners, there is none to prove that such was the attitude of the Company as a body. That it was the attitude of a small but extremely vocal minority of the shareholders is demonstrated by the votes alluded to above. That even this minority was motivated by greed is open to question. The speeches they made often indicate ignorance of the legal relationship of the partners to the Company rather than a desire to make profit at the partners' expense.

As has already been indicated, the directors of the old Company failed in 1862-3 to follow the dictates of "good public relations." But it must be remembered that they acted within their legal rights since the charter was not surrendered and therefore the fur trade was not technically affected. It must also be remembered that secrecy, which was in this case a source of irritation to the wintering partners, is usually maintained by any board of directors in the early stages of business negotiations. As for the directors after 1863,

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, adjourned meeting, July 13, 1871, 56.

the minutes of the meetings up to 1871, as well as the available letters of wintering partners, indicate that the Governor and Committee were generally quite sympathetic to the partners. The difficulty was that many of the questions which confronted the Committee in relation to the partners had to be decided by legal authority, and that occasioned delays during which bitterness developed.

The directors were responsible to the shareholders, who demanded action yet were at times divided as to what that action should be. They had also to satisfy the wintering partners, who were even less united and far less persistent. Had the partners united earlier, as they did in 1869, and sent a representative to London to deal with the Company, it is probable that some of the difficulty might have been avoided.

Basic to all the difficulty was a factor beyond the control of the directors, the shareholders, or the wintering partners. In the 1860's the wintering partners, as well as the Company, were the victims of the westward movement of civilization.

REVIEW ARTICLE

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

K. W. McNAUGHT

"CANADA, in particular, has been a useful and indispensable hostage to good relations between our country and the British Empire." Taken, perhaps, from Professor Brebner, this graphic statement by George F. Kennan may not be original. It is still provocative, and characteristic of Mr. Kennan's Bismarckian diplomatic concepts. Indeed, in all these books, there is not much to comfort the Canadian ego, unless it is in the startling American hankering after "responsible government." In the volume from the Brookings Institution, Canada is not mentioned in any detail. From a study of this group of books, then, we may assume that Canada is no longer America's problem. But whether such a conclusion is valid or not, America's foreign policy becomes more and more clearly Canada's problem, in the sense that just as British policy decisions used to spell peace or war for Canada, in the future that question will be determined by American decisions. The way in which the Americans are thinking about their foreign policy cannot be unimportant to Canadians.

Mr. John Fischer, a skilled journalist, presents a general statement of contemporary American foreign policy. This is perhaps the clearest brief delineation of the principles and methods of "containment" that has yet appeared. Mr. Fischer describes approvingly the development of "the plan" from those days in 1947 when "Mr. X" (George Kennan) described the sources of Soviet conduct, and Mr. Truman announced American aid to Greece and Turkey, to the present. "Our side," he writes, "holds the better cards—and if we play them wisely, there is every reason to be confident that we shall win." The cards are American alliances, commitments, and positions of strength forming a complete line of containment about the Soviet Union, from the North Cape to the Bering Sea. The line, says Fischer, is holding, with the exception of China, and China may be recovered. Until 1953 the atom bomb will provide the answer if Russia decides to view containment as encirclement and to attack openly.

The avowed final aim of containment is to bring about the internal collapse of the Soviet Politburo and to bring forward in Moscow rulers with whom the Americans can negotiate a *modus vivendi*. But the real question remains: can a democratic capitalist republic conduct such a poker-faced diplomacy? Even while calling for cold calculations of national self-interest, Fischer raises some interesting points. He says the most dangerous aspect of American foreign policy is that it is not understood by the mass of the people—because President Truman cannot explain it to them as could Wilson or F. D. Roosevelt. But *could* Wilson or Roosevelt have explained a purely Bismarckian policy to the American people? An active, expensive policy, it seems, in the American democracy, has to drape itself to some extent in the banners of a crusade. Thus Fischer foresees a great danger in 1953 that the pressure of the "let's get it over with" school will become overwhelming.

We may see cynicism, or realism, in the new trend in American policy, but here is also another stage in that irresistible growth of self-confidence which has characterized the Republic from its national beginnings to the present. Most of these books exhibit not only a willingness to accept "world responsibility" but an eagerness to build the necessary machinery and policies. With

this new assumption of competence are mixed the caution of the business man, the exuberance of expansionism, and the acceptance of a satellite tail. Mr. Fischer, for example, sees in the stoppage of East-West trade in Europe, and the interlocking of the western economies, primarily an assurance that America's allies will not run out in a crisis. Much of the master plan's supporting structure, as described by Mr. Fischer, is weak. The British and French fears of Germany and atomic war he writes off as "neurotic," and he certainly is too rosy in his view of Eisenhower's New Model Army. To this army the United States, he says, can contribute six divisions, and "Canada can probably chip in another six divisions."

Perhaps the best thing in Mr. Fischer's book is his description of how the Defence Council operates. There is here a round-up of all the criticism ever levelled at President Truman as a foreign-policy maker: his reverence for high "brass," his excessive delegation of authority, his failure to attract top civilians because of the corruption in his administration and because he feels more at home with mediocrities. But despite this, and although there is no direct, responsible link with Congress, Fischer concludes that the Council functions in an orderly fashion and *has* produced a plan. The civilian balance in what appears to be a very military body is provided by Secretary Acheson, while "the Veep mostly sits and listens so he'll know the score if Mr. Truman ever drops dead."

Donald C. McKay is professor of history at Harvard, editor of the *Makers of Modern Europe* series, and associate editor (Summer Welles is editor) of the *American Foreign Policy Library* series in which his book appears. *The United States and France* has nothing really new to say either about France or Franco-American relations, but it does contain a useful study of the war and post-war problems in that area. Professor McKay fits France into the master plan in much the same way as Fischer, except that France, rather than Western Germany, is held to be the indispensable core. McKay sketches the grand chain of containment, points out that most of its links are peninsular, and then states that France is at the centre of the strongest of these peninsulas. He writes that after American superiority in atomic stockpiling has vanished, then the ground forces of France will be the centre of the containment plan for Europe. Eisenhower's headquarters at Versailles, the proof of an American determination that was lacking in the 1920's, finds its counterpart in the Schuman plan—a moral renaissance in France, says Professor McKay. He also refers to the "comparatively small" group of 600,000 card-holding French communists and says that the several million communist votes are in reality the votes of non-communists, cast from "economic desperation." This seems like the wishful thinking that the new-school American diplomatist hopes most to avoid. However, it is countered by the thought that long French experience with what Professor McKay calls "subversive organizations" will bring success in the internal anti-communist struggle. The book is perhaps at its best discussing the problems of the French colonial empire and noting the dangerous garb in which American strength in Indo-China might appear if it is used merely to bolster an outworn colonial relationship.

The book from the Brookings Institution is the fourth in an annual series designed "to aid in the development of an informed and responsible American public opinion on foreign policy." Here is the approach of professional diplomacy, the heavy emphasis on understanding the process by which policy is

shaped, on the need for more trained specialists at the disposal of the government, and on constant intercourse between government officials and college faculties. In this book, as in the seminars held by the Institution, the "problem" approach is followed and, for each problem presented, the possible lines of discussion, based on minimum factual material, are suggested. The assumption is that students thus learning the "know-how" of policy formulation will be able to produce the correct answers, and the democratic process will have made a further advance. It may be questioned, however, whether, like history, diplomacy is really a science or an art; in the view of the Brookings Institution it is a science, and a rather tedious one at that. But despite the objectivity of the book it contains some non-objective statements, scattered amongst the jargon of the new diplomacy ("defensive posture," "positions of strength," "broad functional problem fields"). There is a clear assumption that the United States has accepted the mantle of faltering British power, yet the basis of the assumption is not really examined. Perhaps the question of the adequacy of the American Constitution to handle the new necessity of a complex global policy is also part of this question of America's succeeding to the nineteenth-century position of England. In any case, the authors here are gravely concerned about the hampering of policy formulation through the diffusion of responsibility.

With respect to the United States and the United Nations they make the rather curious comment that the tendency of the United States "to use the U.N. to organize world opinion against the Soviet Union" was reversed when the war in Korea began. There is a useful, though brief discussion of the United States doctrine of recognition, which has been buffeted about considerably, even since Dean Acheson's statement of 1949 (that recognition depends solely on the ability of a government to control its territory and live up to international commitments). Since the most recent principle seems to be even simpler than that, namely to recognize anti-communist governments but not communist governments (e.g. Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, China), there is a policy field here that must give some concern to a realist such as Mr. Kennan.

The formal American statement of United States activities in the U.N. perhaps affords some explanation of the difficulty of defining any single American recognition principle. *United States Participation in the United Nations* (1950), contains a large amount of useful information (especially in the several appendices); but it is also rather doleful evidence of the nature of "open diplomacy" as at present practised in the U.N. Being the official apologia, the volume gives no more objective a treatment than one would read in a speech by Mr. Warren Austin. The most depressing feature of what one feels should have been an inspiring book concerns the way in which the U.N. is used as one of the battle grounds in the cold war. With Mr. Anthony Eden, we may accept the good faith of the West's position, and still be distressed at the tone and method adopted in U.N. meetings. Apart from the war in Korea, the most critical event in 1950 was the Russian walk-out over the question of seating Mao Tse Tung's Chinese government. Most of the sections in the book dealing with the work of U.N. organs and committees open with a comment on the absence of the Soviet representative. But nowhere in the book are the grounds for the American refusal to admit China expounded. This is, of course, the most sensitive spot in the whole range of American policy. Nevertheless, to

leave it undiscussed, with only a reference to the support which the United States was able to summon in the U.N., merely begs the question of the extent to which the U.N. is dominated by its senior Western member.

In all the books discussed above, there is little in the way of fact or idea that one could not find (with much less convenience) scattered through other sources. The publications dealing with the career, policy, and thought of Forrestal and the ideas of Kennan are, to a marked degree, original and of very considerable importance. In editing the Forrestal "diaries" Walter Millis performed a very difficult task with real skill. The record here presented is a compound of diaries supplemented by correspondence and other files of the late American Secretary of Defence. There is a good biographical note and the direct Forrestal material is exceedingly interesting. Two questions of technique might be mentioned. First, all the material has been carefully screened. Considerable portions "were condensed, paraphrased or in some instances omitted entirely, on the grounds that it might materially embarrass the current conduct of international relations." No one could object to this, especially since so much intimate comment has survived the security axe, but it is a point worth noting. When so much stress is being laid upon the necessity of public education in foreign affairs, it is a serious consideration that "public policy" can never really be made by "the public." A second question of technique is this: although the editor has pieced the various entries together in a perfectly meaningful pattern, his codas are not infrequently used to "heighten the effect," which in most cases is quite superfluous.

From this book emerges the picture of a hard-driving, shrewd man who, having conquered the world of business (he was president of the investment banking house of Dillon, Read and Company by 1938) turned energetically to government. No New Dealer, Forrestal heeded the call of F. D. Roosevelt and cut through most of the navy's problems of supply and procurement (he was Under-Secretary 1940-4), and became Secretary on the death of Knox. In this position he early developed doubts about many aspects of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Throughout the diaries there are two main themes: the need for recognizing that Soviet policy is imperialist, and the necessity of constructing efficient, business-like machinery both for policy making and policy implementation. It is of no small significance that the closing idea of Forrestal's life was that he had made "no great headway," and perhaps the frustration here was the major cause of his suicide. This book is one piece of evidence that no matter how much "hard thinking" is done either about policy or governmental machinery, the United States is still a long way from the goal desired by the neo-Bismarckians.

Much of the route travelled since 1945 in the gradual toughening of American policy is illuminated by the diaries, because Forrestal himself was heart and soul behind a tough as well as an efficient policy. In him there were no vague liberal qualms about what this might imply. "It seems to me," he wrote in 1944, "a *sine qua non* of any postwar arrangements that there should be no debate as to who ran the Mandated [ex-Japanese] Islands. . . ." There was never any doubt for Forrestal that both Japan and Germany must be quickly revived as the key American allies East and West. Thus he fought, together with Stimson, against the Morgenthau-Roosevelt policy to "pastoralize" Germany, and the two secretaries agreed with the sharp warnings about Russian policy which Harriman began to send from Moscow as early as April, 1945. It was

just at that time he reported himself as saying to Anthony Eden, "I had come of late years to have a much clearer appreciation of what Metternich had been able to accomplish." From all this Forrestal emerged as one of the most vigorous supporters of universal military training and the strong, purposeful use of American power wherever it might be effective. The maintenance and calculated use of force is central to the new policy and it implies a conservative attitude toward international organizations. Among the "new policy" men we must not look for real internationalists. Just as Forrestal argued against a trusteeship for the "Mandated Islands" of the Pacific, so he had a great aversion from testing the United Nations' capabilities in such trouble spots as Greece and Palestine. Further, he wrote, "The growth of similar misconceptions with regard to the atomic energy problem ought to be avoided." Thus, in a security-veiled reference we discover that Forrestal was the chief factor in rewriting the wartime atomic-energy partnership. "The Quebec restriction," he wrote in January, 1948, "which was undoubtedly binding upon us was removed."

The nature of the relationship between the politician, Truman, and the conservative efficiency-expert, Forrestal, is not very clear, and there seems to be an editorial suggestion that Truman's failure to back Forrestal quickly and to the limit led to Forrestal's personal crisis. But it is difficult to believe that the relationship could ever have been close, or even one of agreement on many fundamentals. The President insisted on a smaller arms budget than Forrestal thought consonant with security. Mr. Truman also was more concerned about the political concomitants of an all-out armament and military training programme. In short he was both more cautious and more liberal than was Forrestal.

Forrestal's biggest single problem was one of co-ordination. He worked tirelessly to establish the new defence machinery only to find himself continuously faced with rival service ambitions and half-considered top policy. He describes how, in the crisis at the beginning of the Berlin blockade, the critical decisions were made by an *ad hoc* group completely short-circuiting the elaborate National Security Council and War Council—but, strangely, he makes no comment on this. Indeed, all through the book the extreme looseness of the American Cabinet-administrative system stands out sharply. When Forrestal, in 1948, attended a meeting of the Defence Committee of the Canadian Cabinet, he was impressed, not only by the system of a "responsible government" with its budget control, but by Mr. Heeney's description of how the choice of secretaries for the various cabinet committees "provides a central nexus for insuring a common procedure throughout the entire government."

The more one examines recent American thought on the new United States position of virtual hegemony in the world, the more one detects a yearning after the forms and procedures of an older British diplomacy. Not only the forms and procedures, but the principles, too. The clearest exponent of a new American diplomacy, George F. Kennan, makes this obvious in his short volume of lucid essay-lectures. The first six of these analyse the nature of American diplomacy, from the war with Spain to Korea, and Kennan comes up with the conclusion that American policy continuously went after ideals, never coming to grips with power realities. He deplores the failure to admit the validity and legitimacy of these power realities and aspirations, the failure "to accept them without feeling the obligation of moral judgment, to take them as existing and inalterable human forces, neither good nor bad, and to seek their point of

maximum equilibrium rather than their reform or their repression." Such is the frankly amoral point of departure of the man who, as director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, mapped out much of the containment policy to which the United States has more or less committed itself.

Kennan traces most of America's Far Eastern problem, from the time of John Hay's "open door" policy to Pearl Harbor, to an emotional American attitude towards China which would not permit a judicious expansion of Japan. In Europe, much the same, he says, was true. The United States participated in two world wars from a moral and legalistic motivation: "Both wars were fought, really, with a view to changing Germany: to correcting her behaviour, to making Germans something different from what they were. Yet, today, if one were offered the chance of having back again the Germany of 1913—a Germany run by conservative but relatively moderate people, no Nazis and no Communists, a vigorous Germany, united and unoccupied, full of energy and confidence, able to play a part again in the balancing off of Russian power in Europe—well, there would be objections to it from many quarters, and it wouldn't make everybody happy; but in many ways it wouldn't sound so bad. . . ."

The problem then, is to create and maintain a viable balance of world power, without regard to moral issues. Mr. Kennan analyses the relationship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in these terms (in his last two essays) and concludes that if Americans will only continue their containment of Russia, without turning it into a crusade, there is every prospect that a *modus vivendi* can be reached, and even that the soviet state will collapse and be succeeded by something less than an OGPU society in Russia. This is a very tall order and one may suspect that in the final analysis Mr. Kennan shows traces of that "moral" attitude which he so decries in former American policy-makers. That is, he is really thinking in terms of changing the Russians. However, whether he himself is strong enough to refrain from "emotional" demands for unconditional surrender and to keep the growing war machine poised instead of being thrown into a show-down action—all this is unimportant. The critical question is whether he and those who think like him can convince their compatriots that Manifest Destiny, the Big Stick, a World Safe for Democracy, and Unconditional Surrender were wrong policies. One almost has the feeling that Kennan is trying desperately to lay the ghosts of McKinley, Whitelaw Reid, and Wilson, while the realities of the China Lobby and the anti-communist crusaders breathe hotly down his neck.

One of the canons of Kennanism has certainly taken hold firmly in the United States: the principle of being able to back up policy moves with adequate force. But neither in Kennan nor in any of the other volumes here discussed is there any really adequate emphasis on the so-called "Point Four" programme. Fischer talks of "Revolutions made in the U.S.A.," and others discuss the soft spots in the long peninsular-island chain around Russia, but none gives the impression of considering the political-social defences against soviet-controlled communism as being of first-rate importance. Perhaps this reflects the degree to which "hard thinking" has won—the degree to which the United States has, in the words of Justice William O. Douglas, "been rendered largely impotent because we have become victims of military thinking."

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Canadian Oxford Atlas. Edited by Brigadier Sir CLINTON LEWIS, Colonel J. D. CAMPBELL; assisted by K. F. COOK, and D. P. BICKMORE. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 104, xxvi, 118. \$7.50.

THIS is not an historical atlas in the manner of Shepherd, Robertson, or Burpee, although its gazetteers bow to history by including a good many historical place names, e.g., "*Navarino*: modern name of bay off Pilos, Greece." It is an up-to-date world atlas somewhat comparable to *Bartholomew's Advanced Atlas of Modern Geography* (1950) and, for Canadians, superior to that volume in the more abundant attention paid to Canada and the United States. For once, also, Canadians benefit in price, for the *Oxford* costs \$10.00 in the United States.

Representing five years' work and a substantial investment, the volume has been accompanied by a considerable amount of indirect and direct advertisement for its three editions—American, British, and Canadian. Much has been made of its new method of "layering" by which the edge of each tint is the line of contour, and it must be said that, at least in the copy under review, this has not worked with anything like the almost miraculous precision and clarity of *Bartholomew's*. In plate after plate the "fit and register" are mildly faulty, thus detracting by blurs from what, even so, often remains aesthetically attractive. The colour scheme adopted fails to make lakes stand out. I tried out both atlases on students and found that they divided almost equally on their merits of appearance. Part of the difference lies in the sparse use of place names in *Bartholomew's* and their lavish use in the *Oxford*. Only in its uncluttered "distribution" and "regional" maps does the latter closely rival the clarity of the former, but the informational advantage of the *Oxford* is very great, as the comparative lengths of the gazetteers easily demonstrate. *Bartholomew's*, on the other hand, provides graphically more world information on weather, ocean currents, climatic regions, natural and artificial vegetation, ethnic divisions, religion, commerce, etc.

Any informed Canadian, while admitting that for Canada the *Oxford* represents a great advance on anything hitherto available, could entertain himself by picking out flaws in it. Before he does so, however, he should realize that, as so often happens in atlases, one map frequently remedies the faults of another. The citizen of Michipicoten Harbour who momentarily gloats over the Sault because A 8 makes his town the southern terminus of the Algoma Central must look at A 10 before he crows, because on it he is properly located at the end of a branch spur. The northern termination of the Abitibi Railway at Stimson ("the Diamond") on A 8-9, however, is not remedied on A 10-11, a circumstance to be regretted by anyone who has travelled the line further into the northern woods. The Nova Scotian who grows indignant over his province's apparent deficiencies in roads as compared with New Brunswick on the main map A 12-13 should look at the insert. Distribution Map VI shows population around the lower Mackenzie and along the south shore of Great Slave Lake, whereas XVIII-XIX (on which the fur trade does not figure) contradicts this by its locations of economic activity. Distribution Map XVI-XVII shows no

area of Canada as "urban and industrial," although on it seven American cities smaller than Montreal and at least one smaller than Toronto are so shown. Toronto is lost in "arable land with some fruit orchards or vineyards." The remedy here is to consult XVIII-XIX, but it is a pity that the otherwise useful technique of grouping the related areas of Canada and the United States should be allowed to fail in this way, for XVIII-XIX applies only to Canada. Map 16-17 shows an oil pipeline emerging from Alberta, but A 14-15 gives no idea of where it comes from. One must turn to XVIII-XIX to get it all straight. Map A 18-19 misses some of the road changes brought about by the Grand Coulee Dam and irrigation, omits the vital road up the Fraser from Lytton to Lillooet and Clinton, and, by omitting water-routes and some roads, fails to make southern and eastern British Columbia entirely intelligible.

Each reader is invited to send in suggestions and corrections. My gratitude far exceeds any distress over details, but the editors might do well to add a file of *The Beaver* to their source materials for its fairly frequent revelations of unmapped country (e.g., the Nahanni), its informed re-examinations of old explorations such as Hearne's and the Tyrrells', and its locations of Hudson's Bay Company posts which, along with the police posts and United States-Canadian defence posts, perhaps deserve special denomination. Canadians will understand, if others may not, that a number of "passable, fair weather roads" shown confidently traversing the wilderness are actually mid-winter roads, and that some "passable, all weather" roads there are impassable for long periods. And for the country that led the world in air tonnage before 1939 and still depends to an astonishing degree on moving air freight into regions with no comparable transportation, some graphic method should be found at least to indicate the air networks radiating out from places like Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Sioux Lookout, Winnipeg, The Pas, Edmonton, and Vancouver. Finally, how can one understand North America geographically without any indication of the traffic on the Great Lakes, where the Sault canals during the open season pass more traffic than the combined Panama, Suez, Manchester, and Kiel canals in a twelvemonth? Is not the avowed destination of most of the ores of Quebec-Labrador, shown here with their railway in construction, that same cheap waterway, the greatest common possession of Canada and the United States?

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The Papers of Henry Bouquet. II. The Forbes Expedition. Edited by S. K. STEVENS, DONALD H. KENT, and AUTUMN L. LEONARD. Harrisburg, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1951. Pp. xxxiv, 704.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. X. Prepared for publication by MILTON W. HAMILTON, Ph.D., Senior Historian, The Division of Archives and History, and ALBERT B. COREY, Director and State Historian. Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1951. Pp. xiv, 998.

THE two books under review—relating as they do to events of the greatest importance in the history of eighteenth-century North America—cannot but be of considerable interest to the general reader of history. They are, however,

designed primarily to meet the needs of the scholar and in each the editorial work has been done with competence. The letters to, as well as those from, both Bouquet and Johnson, and other documents that have a bearing upon the problems they faced are included; to this end great effort was made by both groups of editors to locate all pertinent papers; the arrangement of these is chronological and their description follows an approved pattern; finally, the footnotes, while far from elaborate, supply the sort of information required by the student. The books supplement one another: *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* cover the period from June 1 to December 31, 1758 and *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* start with September 8, 1758 and terminate with December 30, 1763. Both are primarily concerned with frontier developments, war, and Indian relations. Taken together they cover General Forbes's campaign against Fort Duquesne in 1758, the capture of Fort Niagara the following year, the Amherst campaign against Montreal in 1760, the Indian unrest of the years 1761-2, and the great Indian uprising of 1763.

The *Bouquet Papers*, the originals of most of which are in the British Museum, were first published in nineteen volumes in mimeograph form by the W.P.A. Pennsylvania Historical Survey between the years 1940 and 1943 and were made to conform to the non-chronological classification of the original documents. The present printed volume represents a striking and welcome departure from the latter by reason of its strict chronological arrangement. Although it is volume II of the projected series, it has appeared first in the hope that additional materials may still be uncovered bearing upon Colonel Bouquet's career before June 1, 1758. As for the *Johnson Papers*, the first nine volumes came from the press between the years 1921 and 1939; the present volume covers the same period in the life of Johnson as do volume III and a part of volume IV and was needed in order to incorporate the mass of documents relating to the years from 1758 to 1764 that had not come to light when the earlier volumes were published. Some of these, it is true, have appeared elsewhere in print, but their inclusion will be generally welcomed inasmuch as they assemble the materials from which to study with ease the relations of the great Indian superintendent to his times. In view of the light that the papers included in this volume shed on the background and course of the Indian uprising of 1763, it is surprising that it should still be called "Pontiac's conspiracy" by the editors—following the unwarranted emphasis given to the influence of the Indian chief Pontiac by Francis Parkman. The editors of the new volume of the *Bouquet Papers* likewise use in the Foreword the expression "the Pontiac War" with as little justification.

The *Bouquet Papers* provide the reader with certain useful aids lacking in the *Johnson Papers*: a list of the printed papers, a table of abbreviations, a bibliography of original and secondary sources, a chronology of events for each month, and, finally, an index. In justice to the editors of the *Johnson Papers* it should be pointed out that they were faced with the necessity of conforming to the pattern laid down by earlier editors of the series. Each of the volumes is illustrated and in general has an impressive format and is an important contribution to the study of the history of North America in the eighteenth century.

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Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-25 and 1825-26. Edited by E. E. RICH and A. M. JOHNSON. With an introduction by Dr. BURT BROWN BARKER. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1950. Pp. lxxx, 284, xv, with 2 maps.

THE Hudson's Bay Record Society is to be congratulated on publishing a document we had not expected to see. In 1934 Professor F. M. Merk regretted that no journal of Ogden's first Snake Country expedition had come to light and suggested that it had been mislaid or suppressed. It was, in fact, concealed only by the act of the contemporary clerk who catalogued it, in routine fashion, under the year in which it was sent home, instead of under the date at which it was written. It is now printed from Ogden's own holograph, and is accompanied by its successor, Ogden's journal of his second Snake Country expedition.

The background of the Snake Country expeditions is familiar. The country west of the Rockies was debatable land where neither Britain nor the United States would abandon their claims to sovereignty. The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company there was to establish posts on the north bank of the Columbia River, which might one day become the boundary, and trap the country south of the river as bare of furs as possible with the aim of keeping American trappers out. This, it was hoped, would prevent American settlement.

To this familiar story the journals now before us are a welcome addition. Their author, Peter Skene Ogden, was a black sheep out of a good family. About 1809, and when aged sixteen, he became a clerk in the North West Company. In the West he gained a reputation from his impartial bullying of native Indians and Hudson's Bay Orkneymen alike that caused his exclusion from the union of the fur companies in 1821. His situation was then unpleasant. He was twenty-seven years old and knew no calling save the fur trade. He requested reinstatement, which was granted in 1823, and he was awarded, or punished with, the command of the Snake Country expedition.

He could hardly have received a dirtier job than this. Hardship, bad subordinates, hostile Americans, and danger from Indians all combined to make it unpleasant. One of his predecessors had washed his hands of it with relief, another had been dismissed as unequal to it. Ogden is interesting because he made good at it.

"A discordant headstrong, ill designing set of rascals" is an expert's description of the men he had to manage. They were mostly "freemen," that is, characters who had once been employed by the North West Company, but had failed to get their contracts renewed, and many were half-breeds. It is no surprise to find such men fickle, insubordinate, and ready to desert, but it is rather a shock to find they were also incompetent frontiersmen. They lost horses because they were too lazy to mount guard on animals that were their own, not the Company's property. They could trap beaver, which is not unduly difficult, and they could run buffalo, but, writes Ogden in December, 1825, "of all our party only five can kill Deer." Yet the party's rations depended on successful hunting. It is not surprising that they spent much of that winter starving.

In handling these fellows Ogden displayed great shrewdness, firmness, and skill. He knew when to be silent and when to look the other way and he did not demand too much. His anxiety for them in time of danger seems genuine and to have been felt for the safety of their persons and not of their

furs. Probably few men in the trade rivalled his physical hardihood. His manner of dealing with detected Indian horse-thieves shows a fine blend of vigour and tact (he forcibly reclaimed the horse but gave a present in its stead). It is not surprising to find him courageous when facing blustering and hostile Americans, but his restraint and self-command are more unexpected. Ogden may have been a shameless young ruffian, but he had admirable qualities too.

Dr. Barker's introduction may provoke occasional disagreement. He is, for example, surprised that Ogden should own to taking Indians' furs by force and says the practice "appears scarcely Ogden-like." To us, on the contrary, it appears typical "old North-West stuff" and exactly what might be expected of Ogden. Equally one challenges the suggestion that "the use of the horse in part as a conveyor by land as against the canoe, a conveyor by water" was an American novelty in fur-trade technique, which remained foreign to Canadian fur traders till 1816. The Hudson's Bay Company were using packhorse trains across the prairies as early as 1794, and the North West Company were using them in the mountains well before 1816. Admirable and welcome pains have been taken to identify the geographical features along Ogden's routes, but some may regret that natural history has not received similar attention. For instance, like other early fur traders, Ogden means the elk or wapiti when he writes "red deer"; but many may understand him as meaning the whitetailed deer, which now popularly receives that name. The distinction merits attention because the great difference in the carcass weight of the animals was a serious matter to Ogden (as he indicates on page 109). One would also welcome more light on the riddle of the beavers whose flesh was poisonous. (Why were they confined to the Malade River? Is the wild hemlock similarly local?)

But where criticism can find no graver faults than these, its victim has obviously done pretty well. By and large, Dr. Barker's introduction provides just such a background to Ogden's expeditions as the general reader will want and the scholar may welcome.

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The University of Manitoba

The North-West Mounted Police, 1873-1893. I, II. By JOHN PETER TURNER. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1950. Pp. xiv, 686; viii, 610, with maps and illustrations.

JOHN PETER TURNER died in 1948. For several years he was employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as a special constable with the title of "Official Historian." Mr. Turner was not an historian by profession; he was a free lance writer who wrote a number of articles under the pen-name of Kushwaup which were published in *Rod and Stream*. But from his younger days he was fascinated by the glamour of the Mounted Police and became, after a fashion, the Boswell of the Force. The two volumes under review are the offspring of his love and his researches.

For his material Mr. Turner went to the official reports as published in the *Canada Sessional Papers* and the files which were made available to him in the archives of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; he went also to the old-timers of the Force and from them obtained a number of first-hand accounts which he transcribed with care and used in the preparation of the history which he had undertaken. Mr. Turner did not live to see his work in book

form. He did, however, have the satisfaction of completing his manuscript and leaving behind him a wealth of notes and pictorial material relating to the history of the Mounted Police. Two years after his death his manuscript was published by the Force which he loved so well and to which he gave so much of his time and energy.

Mr. Turner's history of the Mounted Police covers the formative period of the Force between 1873 and 1893. This was the period during which it was known as the North-West Mounted Police; and this was the period during which the western country was transformed from what Butler called "The Great Lone Land" into a permanent and law-abiding settlement. Mr. Turner does more than retell a story which is already familiar in the pages of Haydon, Longstreth, Douthwaite, and Kelly; he gives us the story of the early years of the Force with a wealth of detail which no other author has previously attempted. The general pattern of his cloth is well known—the founding of the Force, the suppression of the whisky runners, the assistance afforded the Indian Department in their dealings with the Indians, the Sioux refugees, the North West Rebellion, the building of the railway, the extension of the activities of the Force into British Columbia, and the settlement of the prairies—but there are innumerable details in the cut and the stitching which are both new and interesting.

It is these details which provide both the strength and the weakness of the book. Here the reader will find the minutiae of barrack buildings, barrack furniture, saddlery and horses, transport, bands, uniforms and clothing, weapons, drill, medical arrangements, recruiting, and the distribution of the Force, which have never appeared in any previous work on the Mounted Police. But these details are too often mingled with the narrative in such a way as to injure the continuity of the story and the evenness of the prose. This is not a book which the reader will sit down to enjoy; but rather one which he will consult when looking for some of the more obscure aspects of the history of the Force. This is the definitive history of the North-West Mounted Police (the prefix "Royal" was not added until 1904) during the heroic period of Western Canadian history. Writers may continue to relate the exciting stories of derring-do which are sprinkled so freely throughout Mr. Turner's pages, but they will not attempt to do over again the work which Mr. Turner has done so thoroughly.

And yet there are details which are missing. Mr. Turner was too loyal a friend of the Mounted Police to be a critical observer. His brief account of Lieutenant Colonel J. F. Macleod's "resignation" as Commissioner reveals nothing beyond the official explanation that "it was obvious to the Minister of the Interior that Commissioner Macleod could not attend to his magisterial duties for the Bow River judicial district and do full justice to his work as head of the North-West Mounted Police" (vol. I, p. 541): a memorandum by the Comptroller of the Force, Frederick White, in the Governor-General's papers in the Public Archives, proves clearly that Macleod was dismissed by Macdonald for constant neglect of his duties as Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, even to the answering of routine correspondence from Ottawa. "His great fault," wrote White, "is that of being 'a jolly good fellow' too continuously." Nor is there much to be found in Turner's volumes about the disappointment and resentment which followed the appointment of Lawrence W. Herchmer as Fourth Commissioner in 1886. And these are illustrations which could be multiplied.

A special note of commendation must be added. The illustrations are excellent. Some of them have appeared before, but many of them were new and unfamiliar to this reviewer. They add greatly to the interest and to the value of the book. There is one large map at the conclusion of volume I, which is useful but hard to handle. More and smaller maps would probably enhance the readability of the book. The Index appears to be adequate. There are a few errors in editing, such as Groseillers instead of Groseilliers and Hendry for Henday, but they are remarkably few in a work of such magnitude. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police are to be congratulated for sponsoring this book. May we hope that other volumes will follow dealing with the history of the Force in the years after 1893.

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

The Royal Military College of Canada

From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216. By AUSTIN LANE POOLE. Oxford History of England, 3. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1951. Pp. xvi, 541. \$5.50.

THE President of St. John's has written a worthy successor to Sir F. M. Stenton's authoritative *Anglo-Saxon England*. In a book which is principally a narrative of the political history of the period, Mr. Poole begins with an account of Anglo-Norman feudalism and economic conditions (chapters I-III), gives two chapters to church and state (chapters VI and VII) and one to "Learning, literature and Art" (chapter VIII). The account is by no means confined to England's internal history: English possessions in France (chapters IV, X, XI) and the relations of England with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (chapter IX) are very fully dealt with. Even here, however, the political development of England remains the dominant topic—as in the chapters on church and state, or that on the loss of Normandy.

Mr. Poole, as one would expect, shows himself to be deeply immersed in current historical scholarship on the period. His own, the Stentons', and Miss Chew's work on feudalism, for example, supply the basis for chapter I (in large part, a summary of his Ford Lectures on *The Obligation of Society in XII and XIII Century England*). He did not have the use of Mr. Hoyt's important book on the royal demesne or Mrs. Stenton's excellent new Penguin survey, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*. It should be added that Mr. Poole is in constant touch with the sources themselves, but never lets them dominate him.

Of praise and blame, Mr. Poole's book can justly claim more of the former. In weaving so many themes, and so much complex scholarship, into a straightforward, clear-cut, and balanced narrative, he has been supremely successful. The portraiture (as of Rufus, John, Becket) is crisp, even if not always likely to command very general assent, and his analysis of diplomatic and political events is incisive. The reader cannot complain of vagueness or rhetoric. He may, as this one does, complain of occasional lack of impartiality, as in Mr. Poole's rehabilitation of King John. For example, one of his judgments is that "it was largely to the king's personal interest . . . that the great development in English law during this period was due." Whereas John's obtuseness in not supporting his Rhenish and Low Country allies at the beginning of his reign (see pp. 449-50) was clearly disastrous, any adverse judgment on this

aspect of John's policy is carefully avoided. Finally, the treatment of Magna Carta must join Messrs. Poole and Painter together as the most skilled of modern apologists for that crafty monarch.

No reader is satisfied with the space accorded his special interest in a textbook. Mr. Poole will disappoint many by his failure to discuss at length the operation of shire, hundred, and vill, and the functioning of the *jurati* or militia. These receive but occasional notice in the exposition of Henry II's judicial reforms or of particular campaigns, whereas the fief, manor, and town occupy three chapters. This is not good enough. This reviewer is also grieved at the disproportionate (though valuable) space given to the navy (pp. 433-9) at the expense of the army, our knowledge of which would gain greatly from that sort of digest of recent scholarship which in other fields is one of Mr. Poole's most helpful contributions.

A final word of criticism: Mr. Poole's book, noble and incisive as it is, indispensable reference and textbook as it is bound to be for many years, has some of the limitations of a textbook. The greatness of his subject—the cultural and political foundations of England—seems to have escaped him; we look in vain for synthesis, for pattern, for a striking theme.

M. R. POWICKE

The University of Toronto

SHORTER NOTICES

Canadian Diaries and Autobiographies. Compiled by WILLIAM MATTHEWS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1950. Pp. viii, 136 (photo-offset from typewritten copy). \$3.25.

THIS work like its companions, *American Diaries* (1945), and *British Diaries* (1950), is a by-product of Professor Matthews's linguistic researches. It includes some works only tenuously Canadian and some which are diaries or autobiographies in a popular rather than an historical sense. Its 1276 titles are the result of research in five American and five English libraries, also brief visits to and correspondence with several Canadian institutions. Hence it is strong in works readily available and weak, as the author notes, in those obscurely published in local journals or pamphlet form (as are so many Canadian productions), or held still in manuscript form. Hence, also, the books are listed sometimes in neither the best nor the first edition, and manuscripts in copied rather than original form. In a rapid compilation of so extensive a work, however, such bibliographical niceties must be waived and for only the serious research worker is its value thereby diminished. It has wide scope, including published and unpublished documents of French- and English-speaking Canada, excepting French material prior to the Seven Years' War, and a few other groups clearly indicated in the Preface. The documents are listed alphabetically by author, with title, place and date of publication, sometimes paging, usually a brief note on content, and, if unpublished, location of the item. There are more than occasional errors in both the bibliographical data and the content notes, e.g., "Anon. *Six years in the bush* (London 1838). Experiences of an English settler and farmer in the Toronto region," is by

Thomas Need, founder of Bobcaygeon, and deals with the Peterborough region. Mrs. Manning's *Igloo for the Night* deals not with exploration for the Hudson's Bay Company but with her husband's final mapping trip with the British Canadian Arctic Expedition. There is no chronological approach to the documents but a serviceable index to their main interests completes the bibliography.

MARIE TREMAINE

Washington, D.C.

Pioneer in Purple: The Life and Work of Archbishop Neil McNeil. By GEORGE BOYLE. Foreword by JAMES Cardinal McGUIGAN. Montreal: Palm Publishers. 1951. Pp. xii, 290. \$3.50.

Andrew Stewart of the Prairie Homesteads. By T. G. MCKITRICK. [Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen. 1950.] Pp. 134. \$1.50.

ARCHBISHOP NEIL MCNEIL was a taciturn man whose conversation was long in ruminative pauses and short in small talk. His record of hard, constructive work in Catholic dioceses in the east and west of Canada and lastly in Toronto is one of almost incredible energy and industry. Such a career usually inspires a massive eulogy. This Mr. Boyle has avoided. He has let the record speak, using extracts from the Archbishop's writings and supplying just the right amount of background for the spacious Canadian scene. The result is a profile rather than a full length biography. There is no index and a sparse use of names and details. The reader interested, for instance, in the details of the founding of St. Michael's College or St. Augustine's Seminary will have to look elsewhere. But the outlines of the man's character, his social philosophy, and his concern for "charity in breadth and depth" in civic as well as in private life emerge clearly. The book itself is an unusually pleasing example of the printer's craft.

The second book is a little paper-covered volume, unpretentious in style and format, commemorating the life of a founder of Wesley College, now United College, Winnipeg. It is also, as its title implies, intended to commemorate the pioneer communities Andrew Stewart served as an itinerant Methodist minister in the 1880's. It abounds in names, anecdotes, and on-the-spot information about pioneering in southern Manitoba and is a valuable social record. Dr. Stewart's part in framing the first Manitoba Education Act and in promoting Church Union is recorded, although the controversial aspect of these public questions is completely ignored.

JOSEPHINE PHELAN

Toronto

Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution, with the Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton. Edited by JOHN D. BARNHART. Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta. 1951. Pp. 244.

THE *Journal* begins with Hamilton's departure from Detroit in 1778, covers his arduous journey to Vincennes and his capture by Clark, and concludes the following year with his incarceration at Williamsburgh, Virginia. Although of small literary merit, it is a valuable source of information for the Revolution in the west, including Indian warfare, the attitude of the French-Canadian in-

habitants, the difficulties of travel and transportation, and the characters of the opposing leaders. The editor's lengthy introduction is marred by a number of stylistic errors and partially duplicates the *Journal*, but it is nevertheless interesting for his re-evaluation of Hamilton and Clark. He concludes that the "Hair-Buyer General" was essentially humane and honourable, although sometimes lacking in judgment. Clark, on the other hand, appears to have been more brutal than American folklore suggests, although his reputation as a bold and courageous leader of frontiersmen remains as great as before. This limited edition is beautifully bound, but a map or two would have greatly enhanced its contents.

B. D. BARGAR

Toronto

A Hundred Years of Canadian Stamps 1851-1951. By RALPH STOKES MASON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 99. \$4.00.

This volume is not a history in the sense of a coherent, literary account of the development of Canadian stamps, but rather a handbook for Canadian stamp collectors. The greater part of the book (pp. 1-76) consists mainly in descriptions and pictures of the various Canadian stamp issues since 1851, the year in which the Province of Canada secured control of its post office. Part II, "Stamp Collecting as a Hobby," contains a section on Canadian postmarks and one on famous errors in Canadian postage stamps such as the "weeping princess" in the Jubilee issue of 1935. Mr. Mason, who conducted the "Stamp Club" in the *Toronto Globe* and in the *Globe and Mail* for some twenty years, has rendered a valuable service in providing a source book of material about Canadian stamps.

D. C. MASTERS

Bishop's University

This Is New Brunswick. By JESSIE I. LAWSON and JEAN M. SWEET. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 202. \$3.50.

This book does not pretend to be a history of New Brunswick but is rather an introduction and guide for the tourist. As such it is excellent. The authors take the reader on an extended motor trip through the province. They handle description well and their book is nicely illustrated with photographs representative of New Brunswick scenery. One wishes, however, that the illustrations had been placed with more care in relation to the text.

Dr. Lawson and Mrs. Sweet are thoroughly familiar with New Brunswick. They use many of the more romantic bits of local history and legend and the origins of many place names to add interest to the book and to the tourist's journey. The only disturbing feature is that the reader occasionally is made to feel that he is back in the grade VI classroom. But when it is remembered that they have recently written a school text on the history of New Brunswick this tendency on the part of the authors is perhaps understandable.

J. K. CHAPMAN

The University of New Brunswick

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

By MARGARET JEAN HOUSTON

Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," Part I, English-Canadian Letters, published each April, Part II, French- and New-Canadian Letters, published each July.

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

- BAILEY, SYDNEY D., ed. *Parliamentary Government in the Commonwealth: A Symposium*. Foreword by Commander STEPHEN KING-HALL; Introduction by Professor ALEXANDER BRADY. London: Hansard Society. 1951. Pp. vi, 217, illus.
- CARRINGTON, C. E. *John Robert Godley of Canterbury*. London: Cambridge University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1950. Pp. xvi, 251. \$5.75.
- CAVELL, NIK. Canada and the Colombo Plan (*Food for Thought*, XII (4), Jan., 1952, 6-12).
- CURREY, C. H. *The British Commonwealth since 1815. I. The United Kingdom, the Countries of the Commonwealth and the Republic of Ireland*. London: Angus and Robertson [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1950. Pp. viii, 471. \$3.50.
- FRIEDMANN, W. The Changing Commonwealth (*Queen's Quarterly*, LVIII (4), winter, 1951-2, 465-76).
- JENNINGS, SIR IVOR. *The Commonwealth in Asia, Being the Waynflete Lectures Delivered in the College of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, 1949*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1951. Pp. xii, 124. \$2.75.
- *The Constitution of Ceylon*. Second edition. London, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 285. \$4.00.
- SPRY, MRS. GRAHAM. The Strength of the Commonwealth (*United Empire*, XLII (5), Sept.-Oct., 1951, 233-7).
- WIJEYERATNE, H. E. E. Ceylon in Relation to the Colombo Plan (*United Empire*, XLII (6), Nov.-Dec., 1951, 289-93).

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- ACHILLES, T. C. The Atlantic Pact and Western Europe (*United Empire*, XLII (5), Sept.-Oct., 1951, 252-6).
- CADOGAN, SIR ALEXANDER. U.N.O., the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. (*United Empire*, XLII (5), Sept.-Oct., 1951, 256-9).
- GIBSON, JAMES A. Canadian Foreign Policy (*Queen's Quarterly*, LVIII (4), winter, 1951-2, 477-85).
- HUNT, LAWRENCE. What the Commonwealth Means to America (*United Empire*, XLII (6), Nov.-Dec., 1951, 310-12).

- KETCHUM, CARLETON J. Canada's Envoys Abroad (*Monetary Times*, CXX (1), Jan., 1952, 22-5, 98). Biographical sketches of members of the Canadian diplomatic corps.
- PANNELL, ANNE GARY and WYATT, DOROTHEA E. *Canada: America's Northern Neighbor*. [Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women. 1951.] Pp. 40.
- SMYTH, J. G. Study of Commonwealth Defence and the U.S.A. (*United Empire*, XLII (5), Sept.-Oct., 1951, 259-61).
- TURNER, ROBERT K., ed. *Partners in the Free World: A Summary Report on the Canadian-American Conference on Foreign Relations, Niagara Falls, Ontario, May 31-June 5, 1951*. Boston, Mass.: World Peace Foundation [Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs]. 1951. Pp. x, 103. \$1.00.
- United Nations, Department of Public Information. *Yearbook of the United Nations, 1950*. New York: United Nations. 1951. Pp. xiv, 1071. \$12.50.
- WILLOUGHBY, WILLIAM R. Canadian-American Defense Co-operation (*Journal of Politics*, XIII (4), Nov., 1951, 675-96).
- See also *External Affairs*, issued monthly in English and French by the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

III. HISTORY OF CANADA

(3) New France

- Detroit Institute of Arts. *The French in America, 1520-1880: An Exhibition Organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts to Commemorate the Founding of Detroit by Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac in the Year 1701*. Detroit. 1951. Pp. 207, illus. \$1.90.
- DONNELLY, JOSEPH P. Belmont's History of Brandy (*Mid-America*, XXXIV, new series XXIII (1), Jan., 1952, 42-63). *Histoire de l'Eau-de-Vie en Canada*, by Abbé Belmont (1645-1732), missionary of the Sulpician Order in New France, is here published in translation.
- ESCHAMBAULT, ANTOINE D'. La Vie aventureuse de Daniel Greysolon, sieur Dulhut (R.H.A.F., V (3), déc. 1951, 320-39). An account of Dulhut's expeditions to the Lake Superior and northern Mississippi region, 1678-89.
- KEMP, PETER KEMP. *Nine Vanguard*. London: Hutchinson & Co. [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1951. Pp. 236, illus. \$4.50. The fourth *Vanguard* took part in the Seven Years' War, at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759 and in 1760.
- KRENKEL, JOHN H. British Conquest of the Old Northwest (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXXV (1), autumn, 1951, 49-61). "... an attempt to present a concise documented account of developments in the Old Northwest during the French and Indian War, and the Pontiac uprising, 1755-1765."
- LE BLANT, R. L'Annulation du testament de Champlain (1637-1639) (*Revue d'histoire des colonies*, XXXVII (3, 4), 1950, 203-31).
- NUTTE, GRACE LEE. Marin versus La Vérendrye (*Minnesota History*, XXXII (4), Dec., 1951, 226-38). A recently discovered diary of Joseph Marin for the trading year 1753-4 supplies new information about the lives of Marin and Joseph Gaultier, sieur de la Vérendrye, and about the last decade of the French régime in the Minnesota region.
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(4) British North America before 1867

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GLOVER, R. Cumberland House (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Dec., 1951, 4-7).

GROULX, LIONEL. Dossier: Le "Britannisme" des "patriotes" (*R.H.A.F.*, V (3), déc. 1951, 416-25). Extracts from writings and speeches of the "patriots" of 1837 and their contemporaries, indicating their attitude to Britain.

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KING, JOSEPH EDWARD. The Real Quebec Act (*Mid-America*, XXXIV, new series XXIII (1), Jan., 1952, 14-41). The substance of the Quebec Act "was fashioned during a decade and a half by the action and reaction of the conquerors and the conquered; and its spirit was at work among the latter long before it was ratified by Parliament."

TRUDEL, MARCEL. Les Volontaires trifluviens de 1764 (*La Nouvelle Revue canadienne*, I (5), nov.-déc. 1951, 33-41). An episode at Three Rivers during the military régime.

(5) Canada since 1867

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BRUNET, MICHEL. Le Métahistorien Arnold J. Toynbee et la minorité canadienne-française (*R.H.A.F.*, V (3), déc. 1951, 362-72).

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CORRY, J. A. *Democratic Government and Politics*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Canadian Government Series, R. MACG. DAWSON, Editor, I. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 691. \$5.00.

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- ELLIOTT, WILLIAM EDMUND. *Politics Is Funny*. Toronto: Britannia Printers. 1951. Pp. 128. \$2.00. Anecdotes and reminiscences about Canadian politicians by a Canadian journalist.
- FORSEY, EUGENE. Constitutional Annus Mirabilis (*Public Affairs*, XIV (1), autumn, 1951, 43-5). A discussion of the attempt of the Government of Nova Scotia in 1926 to abolish the Legislative Council.
- Mr. King and Parliamentary Government (*C.J.E.P.S.*, XVII (4), Nov., 1951, 451-67).
- FRIEDMANN, W. Canada at the Crossroads (*Fortnightly*, no. 1019, n.s., Nov., 1951, 717-22). "Canadians are now concerned how to maintain a modicum of British and European influences, against the overwhelming impact of Canada's great continental neighbour."
- JAKES, FLORENCE PAGE. *As Far as the Yukon*. Illustrations by FRANCIS LEE JAKES. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers [Toronto: Musson Book Company]. 1951. Pp. xii, 243. \$4.50. An account of a trip from New York to the Yukon.
- KETCHUM, CARLETON J. The Man Who's Known as Mike (*Monetary Times*, CXIX (12), Dec., 1951, 26-30, 79-80). An article on the Honourable Lester Pearson, and sketches of other members of the Department of External Affairs.
- LASKIN, BORA. *Canadian Constitutional Law: Cases and Text on Distribution of Legislative Power*. Toronto: Carswell. 1951. Pp. xviii, 676. \$16.50.
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- PETRIE, J. R. Paying for Government in Canada (*Public Affairs*, XIV (1), autumn, 1951, 25-33).
- SANDWELL, B. K. What Did We Vote for in 1926? (*Saturday Night*, LXVII (7), Nov. 24, 1951, 4-5).
- THORN, JAMES. Canada's Constitution (*Political Science*, III (1), March, 1951, 3-11).

IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

- ADSHED, J. G. Hon. John Salusbury, 1707-62 (*Nova Scotia Historical Society, Collections*, XXIX, 1951, 1-21). John Salusbury was a member of Governor Cornwallis's suite, and one of the group which formed the first council of Nova Scotia on July 14, 1749.
- COX, GEORGE. Sidelights on the Chesapeake Affair, 1863-4 (*Nova Scotia Historical Society, Collections*, XXIX, 1951, 124-37). An incident in the American Civil War as it related to the Maritimes.
- DAIGLE, L. C. *A Projected Military Road in New Brunswick: A Story of Adventure across Our Province a Century Ago*. [Saint Louis, N.B. 1951.] Pp. 80. 55c. A study based on the memoirs of Sir James Alexander, *L'Acadie, or Seven Years' Exploration in British America* (2 vols., London, 1849).
- The Election Tie of 1908 (*Atlantic Guardian*, VIII (11), Nov., 1951, 54-6). An account of an event of importance in Newfoundland's constitutional history.
- HARRINGTON, MICHAEL. Royal Port-of-Call (*Atlantic Guardian*, VIII (11), Nov., 1951, 15-20). An account of visits by royalty to Newfoundland since 1800.
- JOST, A. C. *Guysborough Sketches and Essays*. Guysborough, N.S. 1950. Pp. ii, 414. These essays deal with the discovery, settlement, historical events, and industry of Guysborough County, Nova Scotia.

- MORISON, GENE. Herbert Huntington (Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XXIX, 1951, 43-61). Biography of Herbert Huntington (1800-1851), who as a member of the Nova Scotia Assembly took part in the struggle for responsible government.
- New Brunswick Museum. *Annual Report, 1950*. Saint John, N.B.: The Museum. 1951. Pp. 48.
- Nova Scotia Historical Society. *Collections*. XXIX. Halifax, N.S.: Halcrafft Printing Limited for the Society. 1951. Pp. xviii, 177. Seven papers read at the meetings of the Society and included in the volume are listed separately in this bibliography.
- RADDALL, THOMAS. Joe Howe: Maritimes Gadfly (*Saturday Night*, LXVII (9), Dec. 8, 1951, 13, 49).
- ROBB, W. FRASER. Land of l'Evangeline (*Saturday Night*, LXVII (8), Dec. 1, 1951, 9-10). An account of the only French daily newspaper in the Maritimes.
- "September" (*Atlantic Guardian*, VIII (9), Sept., 1951, 45-8). September, 1796 saw "the last attempt by a foreign power to establish a foothold in Newfoundland."
- STAYNER, CHARLES ST. C. The Sandemanian Loyalists (Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XXIX, 1951, 62-123). An account of a small religious sect, comprising a few families who came to Halifax from New England in 1776.
- VILLIERS, ALAN JOHN. *The Quest of the Schooner Argus: A Voyage to the Banks and Greenland*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1951. Pp. 348, with maps and illustrations. \$5.00.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- CROSS, HAROLD C. *One Hundred Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal Y.M.C.A.* Montreal. 1951. Pp. xiv, 365. A history of the first Y.M.C.A. in North America.
- MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. Montréal, ville intellectuelle, artistique et musicale (*Culture*, XII (4), déc. 1951, 356-72).
- POTVIN, DAMASE. Un Tour du Saguenay romantique et historique (*Revue de l'Université Laval*, VI (3), nov. 1951, 205-19).
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(3) The Province of Ontario

- ARMYTAGE, W. H. G. A Pioneer's Letter Home (*Queen's Quarterly*, LVIII (4), winter, 1951-2, 515-18). A letter of 1836, written by Mrs. Ann Wilcockson of Whitby, Upper Canada.
- BARNARD, W. A. C. Names of Topographical Features (*Sylva*, VII (6), Nov.-Dec., 1951, 13-16). Changes in the names of the Algonquin Park lakes during the past hundred years.
- BOGUE, A. G. Marcus Gunn's Printing Office (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (3), Sept., 1951, 106-19). Entries in the 1850 portion of Marcus Gunn's diaries "reflect the business of the London district" one hundred years ago.
- FERRIS, JOHN. *Algoma's Industrial and Trade Union Development*. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: The author, 278 Cathcart St. 1951. Pp. 122.

- FOX, EDITH M. A London Letter of 1823 (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (3), Sept., 1951, 93-5).
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- LAY, GREGORY S. *Memories of Early Days on St. Joseph's Island, the Garden of Algoma and Tourists' Paradise*. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: The author. 1951. Pp. 20. St. Joseph's Island in the St. Mary's River.
- MEADEN, A. S. *Memories of My Boy-Hood Days in London from My Arrival, as a Boy, in the Year 1872* (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (3), Sept., 1951, 91-2).
- WEBSTER, Rev. Dr. London's First Paper Contrasted with the Journal of To-Day (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (3), Sept., 1951, 101-6). An article first printed in the *London Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 28, 1878.
- WESTLAND, STUART I. A History of the Upper Canada Railway Society (*Upper Canada Railway Society*, no. 69, Oct., 1951, 1-4).
- WOODHOUSE, T. ROY. The New Town of London (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, IX (3), Sept., 1951, 87-90). An article based on information in the *Gore Gazette*, a newspaper published at Ancaster, Upper Canada, between 1827 and 1830.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

- ACKERMAN, L. M. From the Cradle to the Combine (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Dec., 1951, 38-41). The Western Development Museum, housed in converted airport buildings at Saskatoon, North Battleford, and Yorkton, is preserving the machines and vehicles of early farming days on the prairie.
- BOILY, MARIE-LOUISE. *Nos Braves Pionniers en terre manitobaine: Souvenirs de colonisation*. La Broquerie, Man.: L'auteur. 1951. Pp. 109 (mimeo.). 85c.
- FINLAYSON, ISOBEL. York Boat Journal (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 32-5; Dec., 1951, 32-7). Extracts from the journal of Mrs. Isobel Finlayson, wife of Chief Factor Duncan Finlayson, recording her journey in 1840 from England to the Red River Settlement.
- GOSTICK, EDITH H. Storehouse of Knowledge (*Canadian Library Association Bulletin*, VIII (4), Jan., 1952, 106-7). A description of the Alberta Provincial Library and Archives.
- HOFFER, ISRAEL. Reminiscences (*Saskatchewan History*, V (1), winter, 1952, 28-32). Recollections of a pioneer to the Hirsch, Saskatchewan, district in 1905.
- JOHNSON, GILBERT. Place Names in Langenburg Municipality (*Saskatchewan History*, V (1), winter, 1952, 33-4). The date, origin, and significance of some Saskatchewan place names.
- PATTERSON, BETH. The Philosophical Fishermen of Gimli (*Maclean's*, LXV (1), Jan. 1, 1952, 22-3, 34-6). Description of a Manitoba town which is the centre of an Icelandic settlement.
- RABER, JESSIE BROWNE. *Pioneering in Alberta*. New York: Exposition Press. 1951. Pp. 171. Reminiscences of a childhood spent on a farm near Lacombe, Alberta, 1895-1905.
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- SCOTT, S. OSBORNE and MULLIGAN, D. A. The Red River Dialect (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Dec., 1951, 42-5). The 5000 half-breeds of Scottish or Orkney and Cree ancestry living in Manitoba at the time of Confederation spoke a dialect "which combined some of the characteristics of both tongues, with the occasional use of a few words of French and other languages."
- SMYTHE, FRANK SYDNEY. *Climbs in the Canadian Rockies*. Photographs by the author. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. [Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. x, 260, with maps and illustrations. \$6.00.

(5) The Province of British Columbia

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- GOODCHILD, FRED H. *British Columbia: Its History, People and Industry*. Foreword by BYRON I. JOHNSON, Premier of British Columbia. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. [Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. 219, with map and illustrations. \$4.50.
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- Trail Golden Jubilee Society. *Trail, B.C.: A Half Century, 1901-1951*. Trail. 1951. Pp. 48, illus.

(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic

- The Alaska Highway Today: A Brief History and Guide*. Edmonton: P.O. Box 660. 1951. Pp. 40, with map and illustrations.
- COOK, FREDERICK ALBERT. *Return from the Pole*. Edited, with an introduction, by FREDERICK J. POHL. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy [Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. x, 335, with map. \$6.00. The account of the author's return journey from the North Pole, 1908-9.
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- MACFIE, HARRY and WESTERLUND, HANS G. *Wasa-Wasa: A Tale of Trails and Treasure in the Far North*. Translated from the Swedish by F. H. LYON. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. [Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. 240. \$3.75. Reminiscences of Alaska and the Canadian North during the gold-rush days; first published in Stockholm in 1935.
- PEDERSEN, C. T. The Runaway Sailors (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Dec., 1951, 23-5). The attempt of two deserters from a whaling ship to reach the Yukon gold-fields in the winter of 1899-1900.
- SCOTT, PETER. *Wild Geese and Eskimos: A Journal of the Perry River Expedition of 1949*. Photographs by PAUL QUENEAU. London: Country Life Limited; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons [Toronto: British Book Service (Canada) Ltd.]. 1951. Pp. 254, with maps and illustrations. \$4.25.

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- SHERLOCK, MARJORIE. University of Alberta Library (Canadian Library Association, *Bulletin*, VIII (4), Jan., 1952, 109).
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VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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- Grace United Church, Saskatoon, 1886-1951. Saskatoon, Sask. 1951. Pp. 32, illus. \$1.00.
- KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. The Baptist Federation of Canada (*Canadian Baptist*, XCVIII (2), Jan. 15, 1952, 5, 7, 15).
- MARCUS, JACOB RADER. *Early American Jewry: The Jews of New York, New England and Canada, 1649-1794*. I. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 301.
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- TRUDEL, MARCEL. L'Eglise trifluvienne sous le régime militaire (*Revue dominicaine*, LVIII (1), janv.-fév. 1952, 21-30).

VIL GENEALOGY

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- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. Notes d'identité: Le capitaine Pierre Matte (1774-1831) (*B.R.H.*, LVII (3), juillet-août-sept. 1951, 165-9).
- MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. La Famille de Hurel dite Flamand (*B.R.H.*, LVII (2), avril-mai-juin 1951, 71-5).
- POTTIER, V. J. An Acadian Becomes a Nova Scotian (Nova Scotia Historical Society, *Collections*, XXIX, 1951, 22-42). The family history of Dominique Pottier, who escaped the expulsion of 1755, and the part played by him and his family in the development of southwestern Nova Scotia.
- ROQUEBRUNE, ROBERT LAROCQUE DE. La Noblesse de France (*B.R.H.*, LVII (2), avril-mai-juin 1951, 101-14; LVII (3), juillet-août-sept. 1951, 135-63).

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- McMANAWAY, JAMES G. King James Takes a Collection (*Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth*, Portland, Me., The Anthoensen Press, 1951, xxii, 515 pp., 223-33). An account of the attempt of James I to collect funds, by an appeal to the parish churches of England, for Captain Richard Whitbourne's use in developing the colony of Newfoundland; the surviving letters of appeal are listed and described.
- STEVENS, HENRY and TREE, ROLAND. Comparative Cartography Exemplified in an Analytical & Bibliographical Description of Nearly One Hundred Maps and Charts of the American Continent Published in Great Britain during the Years 1600-1850 (*Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth*, Portland, Me., The Anthoensen Press, 1951, xxii, 515 pp., 305-63).
- TREMAINE, MARIE. A Half-Century of Canadian Life and Print, 1751-1800 (*Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth*, Portland, Me., The Anthoensen Press, 1951, xxii, 515 pp., 371-90).

X. ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

See the quarterly bibliography published in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

XI. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith)

- AINSWORTH, THOMAS H. Time, and the Indian (*Museum & Art Notes*, second series, II (1), Nov., 1951, 9-11). A brief note, in very popular form, on attitudes towards life of the Indians of British Columbia.
- ARKELL, A. J. Possible Magdalenian Survivals in Africa (*Antiquity*, XXV (97), March, 1951, 19-21). There is a close resemblance between Eskimo spear-throwers, and examples found recently in Africa; the author suggests the possibility of a common Upper Palaeolithic origin.
- ARMSTRONG, ZELLA. *Who Discovered America? The Amazing Story of Madoc*. Chattanooga: Lookout Publishing Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 216. A compilation of the evidence supporting the thesis of a Welsh expedition to America in the twelfth century.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. The Dragon Myths and Ritual Songs of the Iroquoians (*Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, III, 1951, 81-5). Myths describing a huge dragon or snake are an ancient element in the folk traditions of Asia and America, where they are still related and used in song by the Iroquois of the Great Lakes region.
- . *Totem Poles. I. Totem Poles According to Crests and Topics; II. Totem Poles According to Location*. Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Development Services Branch, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 119, Anthropological series, 30. Ottawa: King's Printer. [1951.] Pp. xii, 1-433; x, 434-880. This is a monumental study of the totem-poles of British Columbia, embodying the results of thirty-two years of research in the field, combined with analysis of written accounts ranging from those of early explorers to modern anthropologists. The core of the work is the description of individual poles, with interpretation of their figures, and the meaning of each as recorded in myths. In addition, there are chapters on the history of totem-poles, their significance, methods of carving and erection, and their development and decline in the last century.

- BERGSLAND, KNUT. Kleinschmidt Centennial IV: Aleut Demonstratives and the Aleut-Eskimo Relationship (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (3), July, 1951, 167-79). A detailed study of the linguistic relationship between Aleut, of the Aleutian Islands, and Eskimo.
- BIRKETT-SMITH, KAJ. Recent Achievements in Eskimo Research (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, LXXVII (2), 1947 (published 1951), 145-57). A masterly reconstruction of Eskimo culture history in the light of archaeological and ethnological work of the last twenty years.
- BORDEN, CHARLES E. Facts and Problems of Northwest Coast Prehistory (*Anthropology in British Columbia*, II, 1951, 35-52). This is an important study of the prehistory of British Columbia, based on archaeological material.
- Fraser River Delta Archaeological Findings (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 263). Archaeological work in the Fraser delta shows a diversity of cultures, each with distinctive characteristics.
- BOUTELLIER, MARCELLE. Don chamanistique et adaptation à la vie chez les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXIX, 1950, 1-14). A study of shamanism in North America, with comparison to the Siberian practices.
- BOYÉ, MARC. Au Groënland: Un été chez les Eskimo d'Ata (*Cahiers d'outre-mer*, II (7), 1949, 208-18).
- BRASSARD, FRANÇOIS. The Return of the Soldier Husband (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 66-71). An old French folk song is found to occur widely in Quebec.
- BROMBERG, ERIK. A further Bibliography of Theses Concerning the Pacific Northwest and Alaska (*Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLII (2), April, 1951, 147-66). This list of theses, many of them unpublished, includes several on anthropological subjects.
- BRONSTED, JOHANNES. *Problemet om Nordboer i Nordamerika for Columbus en Bedømmelse af det Amerikanske Materiale; Norsemen in North America before Columbus*. Reprinted from *Aarboeg for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1950. Kobenhavn: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri. 1951. Pp. 152. A scholarly analysis by a distinguished Danish scientist of Norse contacts in the New World, based on personal investigations of the most plausible data. The author rejects the Kensington Stone and the Newport Tower as evidence of pre-Columbian contact; on the other hand he considers that the Beardmore finds are probably from a Norse expedition. Text is in Danish and English.
- BULLIARD, ROGER. *Inuk, "Au dos de la terre!"* Collaboration littéraire de JOSEPH SACHOT o.m.i. Dessins, couverture et cartes d'ANDRÉ MILLOT o.m.i. Paris: Editions Saint-Germain. [1950.] Pp. 355. A description of Eskimo life by an Oblate father.
- BUSHNELL, G. H. S. Prehistoric America: Comments on Some C14 Dates (*Antiquity*, XXV (99), Sept., 1951, 145-9). A scholarly appraisal of some of the results, and some of the problems, raised by the first general pronouncement of the results of archaeological dating by the disintegration of carbon 14.
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by SAM FORD and FREDERICA WOODROW. Ottawa. 1951. Pp. 32. An attractive booklet of Eskimo carvings, intended as a pattern book for Eskimo craftsmen; the captions are written in syllabic script.

CARR, LLOYD G. K. Interesting Animal Foods, Medicines, and Omens of the Eastern Indians, with Comparisons to Ancient European Practices (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XLI (7), July, 1951, 229-35). The Algonkian Indians of eastern Canada and the United States employed many plant and animal "medicines" similar to those used in magico-medicinal practices of mediaeval Europe.

CARTER, GEORGE F. Man in America: A Criticism of Scientific Thought (*Scientific Monthly*, LXXIII (5), Nov., 1951, 297-307). A provocative study of the evidence concerning the early movements of man to America.

CODERE, HELEN. *Fighting with Property: A Study of Kwakiutl Potlatching and Warfare 1792-1930*. With tribal and linguistic map of Vancouver Island and adjacent territory drawn and compiled by VINCENT F. KOTSCHAR. Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XVIII. New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher. [1950.] Pp. viii, 136. This is an important study of the cultural history of the Kwakiutl, an Indian tribe of northern Vancouver Island, from their first contact with the white man in 1792 until the virtual disappearance of their aboriginal way of life about 1930. Particular attention is paid to economic factors, with a brilliant analysis of changing aspects of the potlatch, the ritual transmission of goods whereby status was obtained and rivalries settled.

— The Harrison Lake Physical Type (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 175-84). Attention is drawn to a distinct physical type, first described by Boas in 1891, among the Indians of Harrison Lake in southern British Columbia.

COLLINS, HENRY B. Excavations at Thule Culture Sites near Resolute Bay, Cornwallis Island, N.W.T. (Preliminary Report) (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-1950*, Ottawa, 1951, 49-63). A preliminary description of excavations at a long-deserted Thule Eskimo site on Cornwallis Island.

— The Origin and Antiquity of the Eskimo (*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1950*, Washington, 1951, 423-67). This is an important over-all study of Eskimo origins, based on a thorough analysis of archaeological, ethnological, linguistic, and anatomical data. There is evidence of relationship between Eskimo cultures and those of the Neolithic Age in Asia which, in turn, is related to the European Mesolithic; there are also some connections between Eskimo and the extremely early American cultures of Cape Denbigh and Folsom.

COLLINS, JUNE McCORMICK. Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority among the Skagit Indians during the Contact Period (*American Anthropologist*, LII (3), July-Sept., 1950, 331-42). This study of changes in the concepts of rank among the Skagit Indians of Puget Sound during the period of contact is of value in appraising similar changes in British Columbia.

CORMACK, JOHN. Early Spring at Arctic Bay (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, March, 1951, 32-7). A series of photographs, including several of Eskimo life.

DEARDORFF, MERLE H. The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 77-108). Handsome Lake was a Seneca prophet who, in 1799, began to preach a New Gospel. It was widely accepted by the Iroquois and, in spite of changing conditions, is still followed by large numbers of non-

Christian Indians on reserves in Ontario, Quebec, and New York. Curiously enough, Handsome Lake's religion was stimulated by his contact with the Quakers.

- DODGE, ERNEST S. A Cayuga Bear Society Curing Rite (*Primitive Man*, XXII (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1949, 65-71). An eye-witness's description of a curing ceremony held on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford in 1944 to treat a child whose nightmares were attributed to the malevolence of spirit bears.
- DRUCKER, PHILIP. *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 144. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951. Pp. xi, 480. This comprehensive description of the Nootka of the west coast of Vancouver Island is an important contribution to the ethnology of British Columbia. The author utilizes both historical data and the results of field investigations, including detailed descriptions of material culture, as well as of social, religious, and economic life. In view of the rapid degeneration of Nootka culture, this will remain the definitive study of this tribe of the extreme west of Canada.
- DU CREUX, FRANÇOIS. *The History of Canada or New France*. Vol. I. Translated with an introduction by PERCY J. ROBINSON; edited with notes by JAMES B. CONACHER. The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXX. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951. Pp. xxviii, 404, xv. Another of the scholarly publications of the Champlain Society, containing valuable data on the Indians recorded in the seventeenth century.
- DUFF, WILSON. Notes on Carrier Social Organization (*Anthropology in British Columbia*, II, 1951, 28-34). A summary of the social organization of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia, based on field work and a study of the published data.
- EAST, BEN. Waveys over the Bay (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 10-13). A popular description of goose hunting methods used by the Cree of James Bay.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. Another Eagle Dance for Gahéhdagowa (F.G.S.) (*Primitive Man*, XXII (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1949, 60-4). A description, largely written by the participating Indians themselves, of the second part of a curing ceremony held by the Seneca Indians of New York State on behalf of the late Professor Frank G. Speck.
- Introduction: The Concept of Locality and the Program of Iroquois Research (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 1-12). In the field of political theory, the Iroquois are an unusual example of a series of communities which are local in character, although based primarily on kinship. Iroquois studies have, therefore, considerable theoretical importance. There is rich published and unpublished material, as well as opportunities for study in a culture which is by no means dead. This point of view is developed in a symposium on regional differences in Iroquois culture.
- Iroquois Studies at the Mid-Century (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (3), June, 1951, 296-310). A broad survey of the field of Iroquois studies at the present time, evaluating both the achievements and the gaps in existing knowledge.
- Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 35-54). Local autonomy and local differences were important among the Iroquois, even in the heyday of the League; today the different reservations

are essentially local units, each with its own cultural idiosyncrasies, a pattern somewhat similar to that of the past.

- ed. *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. vi, 187. Papers listed separately.
- and KURATH, GERTRUDE P. The Feast of the Dead, or Ghost Dance, at Six Nations Reserve, Canada (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 139-66). Interrelations between the living and the dead are a basic feature of Iroquois religion. Rituals are still practised which are the direct descendants of the spectacular Huron "Feast of the Dead," described by Brébeuf. This is a description of two of these ceremonies held on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford in 1945 and 1949.
- FRANK, LEONARD. A Metallographic Study of Certain Pre-Columbian American Implements (*American Antiquity*, XVII (1, part 1), July, 1951, 57-9). Metalurgical analysis throws light on the methods used by the Indians of the Great Lakes in manufacturing copper implements.
- FRAU, SALVADOR CANALS. *Prehistoria de América*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana. 1950. Pp. 589. A dogmatic summary of the archaeological history of the New World.
- FREUCHEN, PETER. Out of the Stone Age (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 3-9). With a wealth of anecdote, a veteran of the Arctic discusses the hardships and dangers of aboriginal Eskimo life, pointing out the advantages that have come with the white man.
- GARFIELD, VIOLA E. *Meet the Totem*. Sitka, Alaska: Sitka Printing Co. 1951. A handbook of the animals depicted on totem-poles.
- and DUFF, WILSON. Anthropological Research and Publications (*Anthropology in British Columbia*, II, 1951, 2-12). This is a very useful summary of current anthropological work in British Columbia, with observations on the scope of different publications and forthcoming publications, as well as comments on the activities of different workers.
- GARVIN, PAUL L. Kutenai IV: Word Classes (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (2), April, 1951, 84-97). A detailed study of word classes in the Kutenai language of southern British Columbia.
- GESSAIN, ROBERT. Où en est la Préhistoire des Eskimo? (*L'Anthropologie*, LV (1-2), 1951, 50-86). A broad study of Eskimo archaeology indicates that its origins are to be found in Asia, with a large number of regional specializations in America.
- see ROUDENKO, S. J.
- GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY. *The Romance of the Canadian Canoe*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 154. An attractive volume, in which is included a mass of information on types of canoes and their place in the history of Canada.
- GIDDINGS, J. L., Jr. The Denbigh Flint Complex (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 193-203). The lowest layer of a stratified site on the shore of Bering Sea contains artifacts having more resemblance to Upper Palaeolithic tools of Europe than to American forms. This discovery may be of major importance in tracing the course of migration to the New World.
- Early Man on the Bering Sea Coast (*Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, second series, XIII (1), Nov., 1950, 18-21). A summary of recent discoveries of early man in Alaska.

- GODFREY, WILLIAM S. The Archaeology of the Old Stone Mill in Newport, Rhode Island (*American Antiquity*, XVII (2), Oct., 1951, 120-9). This first comprehensive report on archaeological investigations of the Newport Tower, Rhode Island, indicates that it was built in the seventeenth century, thus disproving the possibility of Norse erection.
- GOODING, S. J. H B C Trade Guns (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Dec., 1951, 30-1). A description of four types of Hudson's Bay Company trade guns, types used between 1770 and 1880.
- GRANTHAM, E. N. Education Goes North (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLII (1), Jan., 1951, 44-9). A popular description of education among the Eskimo.
- GREENMAN, EMERSON F. *Old Birch Island Cemetery and the Early Historic Trade Route, Georgian Bay, Ontario*. Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 11. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 69, xxvi (plates). A scholarly description of the archaeological excavation of an Indian cemetery on Old Birch Island, between Manitoulin Island and the mainland, near the trade route between the mouth of the French River and Sault Ste. Marie. European trade goods indicate a date of about 1780, while the native artifacts are of Woodland type. The occupants were probably Algonkians, perhaps the people described by Henry in 1761.
- GUNTHER, ERNA. The Shaker Religion of the Northwest (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 37-76). A history of the development and spread of Shakerism among the Indians of Washington and British Columbia, with a description of their religious rituals.
- HAMBLETON, JOSEPHINE. The Raven, Frog, and Bear Totem Pole (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 80-3). An illustrated description of a superb Haida argillite carving.
- HAMMERICH, L. L. Kleinschmidt Centennial VI: Can Eskimo Be Related to Indo-European? (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (4), Oct., 1951, 217-23). Similarities in morphology between Eskimo and the Indo-European languages raise the definite possibility of genetic relationship.
- Kleinschmidt Centennial I: The Cases of Eskimo (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (1), Jan., 1951, 18-22). A detailed grammatical study of cases in the Eskimo language.
- HARP, ELMER, Jr. An Archaeological Survey in the Strait of Belle Isle Area (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 203-20). An archaeological survey located twenty-nine sites on the Strait of Belle Isle, in Labrador and Newfoundland. The specimens indicate contact between Dorset Eskimo and Beothuk cultures, but the relationship is not clear.
- HARRINGTON, M. R. A Hunter's Outfit from the Central Eskimo (*The Masterkey*, XXV (2), March-April, 1951, 66-8). A description of an Eskimo bow, quiver, and arrows from Victoria Island.
- HARRINGTON, RICHARD. Northern Portraits (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, March, 1951, 14-17). Two superb photographs of Athapaskan Indian women.
- HARSHBARGER, IRA. Ancestry of the Plains Indians (*Southwestern Lore*, XV (4), 1950, 37-41).
- HATT, GUDMUND. The Corn Mother in America and in Indonesia (*Anthropos*, XLVI (5-6), Sept.-Dez., 1951, 853-914). A comprehensive study of American Indian and Indonesian myths dealing with the origin of agriculture shows many resemblances; this suggests diffusion of culture, and may throw light on contacts across the Pacific.

- HAYWOOD, CHARLES. *A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong*. New York: Greenberg. 1951. Pp. xxx, 1292. The second part of this enormous bibliography, over four hundred pages, deals with Indian folklore and music. The references are divided into a general section, followed by culture areas, and these in turn into tribes. It is a scholarly work of the highest value.
- HEINE-GELDERN, ROBERT and EKHOLM, GORDON F. Significant Parallels in the Symbolic Arts of Southern Asia and Middle America (International Congress of Americanists, 29th, New York, 1949 [Proceedings], I, *Selected Papers: The Civilizations of Ancient America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951, 299-309). On the basis of significant resemblances in art and architecture, the authors postulate extensive contacts between India and Mexico, between the first and twelfth centuries A.D.
- HEISER, CHARLES B. Jr. The Sunflower among the North American Indians (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (4), Aug., 1951, 432-48). The sunflower was cultivated by the Indians over a wide area extending from Ontario and Quebec to the Carolinas. It was used for food, medicinal, and ceremonial purposes.
- HEIZER, ROBERT F. The Sickles in Aboriginal Western North America (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 247-52). There is no clear evidence that the sickles of the Old and New World are of common origin, although the occurrence of this implement on Kodiak Island suggests the possibility of diffusion.
- HERZOG, GEORGE. Salish Music (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 93-110). A thorough analysis of Coast Salish music, with observations on its relationships to the music of other areas in North America.
- HOBBS, WILLIAM HERBERT. The Fourteenth-Century Discovery of America by Antonio Zeno (*Scientific Monthly*, LXXII (1), Jan., 1951, 24-31). It appears highly probable that Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, two Venetian brothers, reached Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in the 1390's.
- HOLAND, HJALMAR R. The Age of the Newport Tower (*Archaeology*, IV (3), autumn, 1951, 155-8). The author reassembles evidence for his belief that the stone tower at Newport, Rhode Island, is of Norse construction, in spite of recent archaeological findings which strongly indicate that it was built in the Colonial period.
- HONIGMANN, JOHN J. An Episode in the Administration of the Great Whale River Eskimo (*Human Organization*, X (2), summer, 1951, 5-14). A case history of the far-reaching effects upon native life and sentiments of an administrative order banning the customary issuing of flour and sugar with the intention of stimulating hunting.
- The Logic of the James Bay Survey (*Dalhousie Review*, XXX (4), 1951, 378-86). A recognition that all aspects of human culture are interdependent was the reason for a broad study of present-day conditions among the James Bay Cree. An understanding of the native point of view is essential if problems of culture contact are to be held to a minimum.
- HOUSTON, JAMES A. Eskimo Sculptors (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, June, 1951, 34-9). A well-illustrated description of modern Eskimo carvings in stone and ivory from the eastern Arctic. The author and the Canadian Handicrafts Guild are to be congratulated on stimulating artistic work of this kind; it is an economic asset to the Eskimo, as well as a definite contribution to Canadian art.
- HUNT, MORTON M. The Secret of the Vanished Explorer (*Saturday Evening Post*, June 9, 1951, 40-1, 127-30, 132, 134). A popular description of the evidence on

which Frederick Pohl concluded that the Vinland of the Norse sagas was Cape Cod. His hypothesis, based on a geographical analysis of the saga description, was confirmed in a convincing manner by the discovery of holes drilled in boulders at three sites on Bass River, Cape Cod, which he identifies as mooring-holes.

The Indian Act, Chapter 29, Statutes of Canada, 1951. Ottawa: King's Printer, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Indian Affairs Branch. 1951. Pp. 43. The revised Indian Act constitutes the authority under which Indian administration in Canada is carried out.

IRVING, WILLIAM. Archaeology in the Brooks Range of Alaska (*American Antiquity*, XVII (1, part 1), July, 1951, 52). A brief note on the results of an archaeological survey in the Endicott Mountains of Alaska.

JACOBS, WILBUR R. The Indian Frontier of 1763 (*Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (3), Sept., 1951, 185-98). A scholarly article containing much ethno-historical data.

JOHNSON, FREDERICK, assembled by. *Radiocarbon Dating: A Report on the Program to Aid in the Development of the Method of Dating.* Supplement to *American Antiquity*, XVII (1, part 2), July, 1951; *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, no. 8. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Society. 1951. Pp. vi, 65. This collection of papers comprises the first official pronouncement of the results of dating by means of carbon 14. The method is based on the premise that all organic matter contains the same percentage of carbon 14 and, on death, it disintegrates at the same relative rate. It is thus possible to give an absolute dating on charcoal, bone, or other organic material from archaeological deposits. This discovery may revolutionize archaeological techniques.

JOSS, W. F. Eskimo Sleds (*The Beaver*, outfit 281, March, 1951, 10-13). A description, with excellent photographs, of the manufacture and use of sleds by the Eskimo.

JURY, WILFRID. Excavations at Fort Ste Marie in 1951 (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XV (3), Oct., 1951, 76-7). A summary account of the summer's excavations at Fort Ste Marie, largely of buildings surrounding the main fort.

— Excavations at St Ignace and at Fort Ste Marie (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XV (2), June, 1951, 62-4). A series of photographs of the excavations at Fort Ste Marie and St Ignace.

KENNEDY, J. H. *Jesuit and Savage in New France.* New Haven: Yale University Press (Toronto: The Ryerson Press). 1950. Pp. x, 206. The major part of this book is a summary of the views of the Jesuits about the Indians as they were presented to France in the seventeenth century; this is followed by a discussion of the influence of these views on French thought.

KIDD, KENNETH E. Burial of an Ojibwa Chief, Muskoka District, Ontario (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXI (1-2), Jan.-June, 1951, 3-8). An Indian grave, found accidentally in Muskoka, contained European trade goods, as well as native objects; study of the former indicates that the burial took place about 1800.

— *Canadians of Long Ago.* Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. viii, 174. This book fills the need of an accurate, readable description for children of the life of the Indians of Canada as it was at the time of the coming of the white man. It is based on the author's experience in talking to school groups in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. Choosing the most important Indian areas of Canada, he describes the culture of each, with the attractive addition of a characteristic myth. The book is beautifully illustrated by Sylvia Hahn.

- Excavations at Fort Ste Marie 1941-1943 (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XV (2), June, 1951, 44-7). A series of photographs of the excavation of Fort Ste Marie.
- Fluted Points in Ontario (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 260). A note on the occurrence and distribution in Ontario of fluted points somewhat resembling Folsom types.
- Orr Lake Pottery (*Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute*, XXVIII, part 2, no. 59, 1950, 165-85). A detailed archaeological study of the pottery from a Huron Indian site in Simcoe County, Ontario, dating from the early period of European contact.
- KIDDER, ALFRED, II and DICK, HERBERT W. A Review of the Evidence for the Antiquity of Man in the New World (*Rivista di scienze preistoriche*, IV (1-2), 1949, 3-42).
- KING, ARDEN R. Archaeology of the San Juan Islands: A Preliminary Report on the Cattle Point Site (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 133-46). Excavation of a site on the San Juan Islands disclosed four layers of occupancy, with evidence of considerable antiquity, as well as a number of highly specialized objects.
- KRAMER, FRANK R. The Devil and Champlain (*Inland Seas*, VII (3), fall, 1951, 147-57). A discussion of Huron religious beliefs as they affected Champlain's dealings with the tribe.
- KURATH, GERTRUDE PROKOSCH. Iroquois Midwinter Medicine Rites (*Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, III, 1951, 96-100). A description of ritual songs still used by the Iroquois of southern Ontario, with examples of their music.
- Local Diversity in Iroquois Music and Dance (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 109-38). This detailed study of Iroquois dance and music shows the survival of basic similarities on all the reservations of Ontario, Quebec, and New York, combined with with regional specializations and with dissemination facilitated by modern transportation. A number of musical notations are given.
- LACOURCIÈRE, LUC and SAVARD, F. A. Canadian Folk Songs Collected at Baie-Des-Rochers (Charlevoix) (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 84-7). A preliminary report on French folk-songs collected in Charlevoix County, Quebec.
- Canadian Folk Tales Recorded during the Summer of 1948 in Charlevoix and Beauce Counties (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 63-5). A progress report on folk tales and songs collected in two counties of Quebec.
- LANE, BARBARA S. The Cowichan Knitting Industry (*Anthropology in British Columbia*, II, 1951, 14-27). The skill of the Cowichan Indians of Vancouver Island in the knitting of sweaters is well known. This article traces the history of the industry, and describes the methods of manufacture and the designs employed.
- LARGE, R. GEDDES. *Soogwilis: A Collection of Kwakiutl Indian Designs and Legends*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1951. Pp. 87. This volume consists of a number of incidents in the life of the mythical culture hero, Soogwilis, which have been woven into a single tale. The illustrations, reproduced in colour, are most attractive. They were drawn many years ago by a Kwakiutl artist, in characteristic Northwest Coast style, to illustrate this particular legend.

- LAUGHLIN, W. S. Notes on an Aleutian Core and Blade Industry (*American Antiquity*, XVII (1, part 1), July, 1951, 52-5). Artifacts from Ananiuliak Island, near Umnak Island, in the Aleutians suggest a pre-Aleut culture layer, on the basis both of typology and location.
- and MARSH, G. H. A New View of the History of the Aleutians (*Arctic*, IV (2), Sept., 1951, 74-88). This summary of extensive anthropological work in the Aleutian Islands leads to the conclusion that the islands were populated by two movements of Eskimo from Alaska.
- LAVIOLETTE, FORREST E. Missionaries and the Potlatch (*Queen's Quarterly*, LVIII (2), summer, 1951, 237-51). A thoughtful discussion of the attitude of missionaries towards the potlatch in British Columbia.
- LAWESHE, FRED E. The Efficiency of Stone Age Tools (*Minnesota Archaeologist*, XVI (4), Oct., 1950, 3-11). An interesting description of work done with stone tools, both those recovered from Indian sites and others of modern manufacture.
- LEACOCK, ELEANOR B. The Seabird Community (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 185-94). A thorough study of social interactions and behaviour among the Salish Indians of Seabird Island, a small reserve in the Fraser River, seventy miles from Vancouver.
- LEARMONTH, L. A. Interrupted Journey (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 20-5). A graphic diary of a trip with Eskimo companions near the Boothia Peninsula, bringing out the dangers of travel through the autumn ice.
- LEE, THOMAS E. A Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey of Southwestern Ontario in 1949 (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 42-8). A survey of archaeological sites and material along the north shore of Lake Erie shows a range of cultures comparable to those of New York State, with the addition of considerable local development.
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. Aboriginal Tree-Felling (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118 (*Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 44-9). Examples from the Yukon show that spruce stumps cut with stone tools have a recognizable appearance, depending upon the types of tool and the techniques used in their cutting.
- Beauty's Only Skin Deep (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, Sept., 1951, 37-40). A description, with illustrations, of Eskimo tattooing.
- Bone Grease (*American Antiquity*, XVI (4), April, 1951, 355-6). Grease, obtained by boiling broken mammal bones, was formerly used by Indians of the Plains. It is still made in the Yukon. This practice may explain the occurrence of broken bones in many archaeological sites.
- Mercy in the North Country (*Saturday Night*, LXVII (7), Nov. 24, 1951, 42). A note on medical work carried on by the government among the Eskimo.
- LINTON, RALPH. New Light on Ancient America (*Scientific Monthly*, LXXII (5), May, 1951, 313-17). The use of carbon 14 offers a new aid in the dating of prehistoric American sites.
- LOGAN, ROBERT A. The Precise Speakers (*The Beaver*, outfit 282, June, 1951, 40-3). A description of the Cree language, and of some of the efforts to transcribe it.
- LOWIE, ROBERT H. Some Aspects of Political Organization among the American Aborigines (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, LXXVIII (I and II), 1948 (published 1951), 11-24). A scholarly study of political structure and chieftainship in America. The Inca state was unique

in America in its rigid organization, elsewhere "tribes" tended to be of small population and with chiefs who were weak in contrast to the monarchies which flourished, for example, in parts of Africa.

LUCY, CHARLES L. Notes on a Seneca Mask (*Primitive Man*, XXIV (2), April, 1951, 35-6). A brief, illustrated description of a Seneca mask.

LUSSAGNET, SUZANNE. Bibliographie américaniste (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXIX, 1950, 273-367). This is the most extensive annual bibliography of anthropological publications dealing with the Americas. It is divided into sections according to subject and area.

MCCLELLAN, CATHARINE and RAINIER, DOROTHY. Ethnological Survey of Southern Yukon Territory, 1948 (Preliminary Report) (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 50-3). A preliminary report of ethnological work among the Tagish Indians of the Yukon, a group showing both Tlingit and Athapaskan affinities.

MCDOWELL, F. E. D. A Champion of the Cross (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XV (4), Dec., 1951, 112-13, 129-30). A biography of Rageneau, containing some observations on the Hurons among whom he laboured.

MCGEE, JOHN T. Family Hunting Grounds in the Kippewa Area, Quebec (*Primitive Man*, XXIV (3), July, 1951, 47-53). Hunting areas were formerly owned by patrilineal family groups among the Algonkians of the Temiskaming area, in western Quebec.

MACKAY, D. M. Indian Affairs Branch (in Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1950*, Ottawa, 1951, 55-88).

--- Indian Affairs Branch (in Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1951*, Ottawa, 1951, 57-90).

These annual government reports furnish detailed information on conditions among the Indians of Canada, with data, in tabular form, on economic, educational, religious, and demographic facts.

MACMILLAN, MIRIAM. Far North with "Captain Mac" (*National Geographic Magazine*, C (4), Oct., 1951, 465-513). An interesting description, illustrated with excellent photographs, of Eskimo life in Greenland and Baffin Island, as noted on Captain MacMillan's twenty-ninth expedition to the North.

MACNEISH, RICHARD S. An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Northwest Territories (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 24-41). A preliminary, but important, description of an archaeological survey of the region around Great Slave Lake, resulting in the discovery of forty sites. The significant features of each are listed; they appear to belong to four archaeological layers.

MAHR, AUGUST C. Materia Medica and Therapy among the North American Forest Indians (*Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LX (4), Oct., 1951, 331-54). A summary of the types of medical and surgical treatment used by the Indians of eastern North America, with special reference to the Algonkians and Iroquoians of the Great Lakes area.

MANNING, T. H. A Mixed Cape Dorset-Thule Site on Smith Island, East Hudson Bay (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 64-71). Excavations on Smith Island disclosed a site where Dorset and Thule Eskimo cultures had overlapped.

MARSH, D. B. Life in a Snowhouse (*Natural History*, LX (2), Feb., 1951, 64-7).

A series of beautiful photographs, with extended captions, illustrating the life of the Caribou Eskimo living west of Hudson Bay.

- MARSH, GORDON and SWADESH, MORRIS. Kleinschmidt Centennial V: Eskimo Aleut Correspondences (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (4), Oct., 1951, 209-16). A study of linguistic resemblances between Eskimo and Aleut, of the Aleutian Islands, throwing light on the probable form of the language ancestral to both.
- MAY, ALAN G. Home Life in a Soviet Outpost (*Natural History*, LX (6), June, 1951, 270-7; 285-6). Brief expeditions to the Commander Islands, the eastern end of the Aleutian chain, in 1937 and 1938, failed to produce archaeological evidence of prehistoric occupancy. The time available for reconnaissance and excavation was, however, too short to rule out the possibility of early migrations to the New World by this route.
- Mummies from Alaska (*Natural History*, LX (3), March, 1951, 114-19). A popular description of the finding and removal of mummified bodies from caves in the Aleutian Islands.
- MICHEA, J. P. Exploration in Ungava Peninsula (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 54-8). A brief summary of the results of archaeological and ethnological work among the Ungava Eskimo, including the discovery of archaeological sites of an archaic Eskimo culture at a considerable distance from the coast.
- MIKKELSEN, EJNAR. The Eskimos of East Greenland (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (2), Aug., 1951, 88-98). A popular description of the Angmagssalik Eskimo.
- MILES, SUZANNE W. A Revaluation of the Old Copper Industry (*American Antiquity*, XVI (3), Jan., 1951, 240-7). The use of copper by the Eskimo and Indians of the northeast has a wide distribution both in time and place.
- MOLTKE, ERIK. The Kensington Stone (*Antiquity*, XXV (98), June, 1951, 87-93). A careful analysis of the runic script on the Kensington Stone, found in Minnesota, indicates that the inscription is a forgery. This conclusion is strengthened by the finding of what appears to be a sketch, made in 1898, from which the inscription was carved.
- MORGAN, AUDREY and FRANK. Alaska's Russian Frontier: Little Diomed (*National Geographic Magazine*, XCIX (4), April, 1951, 551-62). A description of Eskimo life on the Diomed Islands in Bering Strait, illustrated with excellent photographs and expanded captions.
- MYER, DILLON S. Policy of the Office of Indian Affairs (*Boletín indigenista*, XI (3), Sept., 1951, 220-41). An important statement by the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, summarizing the attitude and policy of the government towards the Indians.
- The Native Voice* (V(1-12), Jan.-Dec., 1951, monthly). Vancouver: Native Voice Publishing Co., 429 Standard Building. 10 cents per issue. Established as a monthly newspaper by Indians, for Indians in British Columbia, the *Native Voice* has enlarged its scope to include news of Indians in eastern Canada. It reflects Indian opinion on current problems, as well as chronicles of activities of different Indian groups; perhaps its widening field indicates a growing sense of common interests among the Canadian Indians as a whole.
- NIELSEN, FINN. Planned Reforms in Greenland (*Arctic*, IV (1), May, 1951, 12-17). A description of current changes in the administration policy of Greenland,

where the Eskimo are affected both by world conditions and by a gradual amelioration of the climate.

Northern Administration Division (in Canada, Department of Resources and Development, *Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1951*, Ottawa, 1951, 76-95).

Northern Administrations (in Canada, Department of Resources and Development, *Report for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1950*, Ottawa, 1951, 77-96).

These government reports contain data on the administration of the Yukon and the North West Territories, including measures pertaining to the Eskimo.

O'BRIEN, ELMER. St. Noel Chabanel, S.J. (*Martyrs' Shrine Message*, XV (4), Dec., 1951, 116-17, 132-3). A biography of one of the Jesuit martyrs, with some observations on the Hurons.

POHL, FREDERICK JULIUS. *The Sinclair Expedition to Nova Scotia in 1398: A Pre-Columbian Crossing of the Atlantic Definitely Dated as to Year, Month, and Day of Landing*, Pictou, N.S.: Pictou Advocate Press. 1950. Pp. 45.

QUIMBY, GEORGE I. and SPOEHR, ALEXANDER. Acculturation and Material Culture, I (*Fieldiana: Anthropology*, XXXVI (6), July 17, 1951, 107-47). An interesting paper on aspects of culture change among the American Indians, illustrated by (a) objects of European culture, and (b) aboriginal forms modified by the introduction and incorporation of new materials.

RADIN, PAUL. *Der Mensch und die mythische Welt (Eranos-Jahrbuch, XVII, 1949, Zürich, 1950, 359-419)*. A study of a widespread Indian myth which is regarded as an expression of certain basic problems of life.

RANDALL, BETTY UCHITELLE. The Cinderella Theme in Northwest Coast Folklore (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 243-86). The Cinderella theme, that of rising from poverty or misfortune to wealth or fame, is a common element in the folklore of many of the Coast Salish Indians of Washington and southern British Columbia.

RANDLE, MARTHA CHAMPION. Iroquois Women, Then and Now (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 167-80). The status and position of modern Iroquois women on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario, is described in relation to their role in the period when the League of the Iroquois was a dominant political force.

RIOUX, MARCEL. Anthropological Field Work at Ile Verte, Quebec (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 59).

— The Meaning and Function of Folk-Lore in the Ile Verte (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 118, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949*, Ottawa, 1950, 60-2).

Two brief progress reports on folk-tales collected on the isolated island of Ile Verte in the lower St. Lawrence, and their place in the life of the community.

— Persistence of a Tutelo Cultural Trait among Contemporary Cayuga of Grand River, Ontario (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 72-4). Though survivors of the Tutelo, a small tribe of the Carolinas, were adopted by the Iroquois in the eighteenth century, a few of their rituals are still carried out by their descendants in Ontario.

— Some Medical Beliefs and Practices of the Contemporary Iroquois Longhouses of the Six Nations Reserve (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*,

- XLI (5), May, 1951, 152-8). A careful study of medical beliefs and practices as they are still found among non-Christian Iroquois Indians on the Grand River Reservation, Ontario.
- RITCHIE, WILLIAM A. A Current Synthesis of New York Prehistory (*American Antiquity*, XVII (2), Oct., 1951, 130-6). An important synthesis of the archaeological history of New York State and adjacent areas of Ontario in the light of recent excavations.
- Ground Slates: Eskimo or Indian? (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XXI (3-4), July-Dec., 1951, 46-52). A thoughtful commentary on the problems involved in accepting or rejecting the thesis of a relationship between an early Eskimo culture, and an early archaeological horizon in the New York State region.
- Their Mouths Are Stopped with Dust (*Archaeology*, IV (3), autumn, 1951, 136-44). A description of the distinctive elements of the Owaseco culture, which flourished in New York State and spread into Ontario; it can be dated from about 500 to about 1200 A.D.
- RITTER, AUDREY. A Doctor among the Eskimos (*American Indian*, VI (1), summer, 1951, 33-6). A popular description of medical work in Alaska.
- RITZENTHALER, ROBERT E. The Building of a Chippewa Indian Birch-Bark Canoe (*Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, XIX (2), Nov., 1950, 53-99). After an interesting summary of the varieties and distribution of birch-bark canoes in North America, the author gives a detailed description of the methods of manufacture used by the Ojibwa (Chippewa) of Wisconsin.
- The Oneida Indians of Wisconsin (*Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, XIX (1), Nov., 1950, 1-52). This description of the movement of a branch of the Oneida, an Iroquois tribe, from New York to Wisconsin, and of their subsequent cultural decline and present condition throws light on comparable movements and adjustments in Ontario.
- RIVERA, TRINITA. Diet of a Food-Gathering People, with Chemical Analysis of Salmon and Saskatoons (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 19-36). A chemical analysis of the food value of fish and berries as preserved by the Coast Salish for winter use.
- ROBERTS, FRANK H. H. The Early Americans (*Scientific American*, CLXXXIV (2), Feb., 1951, 15-19). A popularly written, but scholarly, summary of current knowledge concerning the early movements of man in the New World.
- ROBERTSON, SYLVA. British Columbia's Dugout Canoes (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLIII (1), July, 1951, 18-23). An illustrated description of the types of dug-out canoe used by the Indians of British Columbia.
- ROE, FRANK GILBERT. *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 957. An exhaustive study of the buffalo, including a careful appraisal of the importance of this mammal to the Indian. See C.H.R., XXXII (4), Dec., 1951, 388-9.
- ROUDENKO, S. J. *Drevniia koultoura Beringova moria i eskimaskaia problema*. Moscow, Leningrad. 1947. Pp. 131, with 38 plates. Reviewed by R. GESSAIN in *L'Anthropologie*, LV (1-2), 1951, 148-9; a French review of an important Russian work on the Siberian Eskimo.
- RUMNEY, GEORGE R. The Ottawa-Nipissing Canoe Route in Early Western Travel (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, XLII (1), Jan., 1951, 26-33). This is a scholarly, but popularly written study of the water route from the St. Lawrence to Georgian Bay which was so important in the early days of French-Indian contact.

- SANFORD, MARIAN H. Sevoonga-Eskimo Village (*American Indian*, VI, (2), fall, 1951, 37-40). A visiting nurse's impressions of a visit to an Alaska Eskimo village.
- SARGENT, MARGARET. Folk and Primitive Music in Canada (National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 123, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, Ottawa, 1951, 75-9). A summary of the records of Canadian Indian music on file at the National Museum in Ottawa.
- SCHAEFFER, CLAUDE E. Was the California Condor Known to the Blackfoot Indians? (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XLI (6), June, 1951, 181-91). Traditions and anecdotes, transmitted orally, indicate that the California condor occurred rarely in the Blackfoot country of Alberta and Montana; this constitutes a considerable extension of its accepted range.
- SCHRIVER, JOANNE and LEACOCK, ELEANOR B. Harrison Indian Childhood (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 195-242). A study, with case histories, of children's behaviour among the Indians of Seabird Island Reserve, seventy miles east of Vancouver.
- SHADE, CHARLES I. The Girls' Puberty Ceremony of Umnak, Aleutian Islands (*American Anthropologist*, LIII (1), Jan.-March, 1951, 145-8). Though generally concealed from investigators, puberty rites for girls have been practised in the Aleutian Islands until a few years ago.
- SIMPSON, RUTH DEETTE. An Algonkian Toboggan (*The Masterkey*, XXV (4), July-Aug., 1951, 133). A description of an Algonkian toboggan recently acquired by the Southwest Museum.
- SMITH, MARIAN W. The Indians and Modern Society (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 3-18). The Coast Salish Indians, from Tacoma in the south to Vancouver and Victoria in the north, have been forced to adjust to urban, rather than to rural European contact. Due in part to their mechanical proficiency, they have taken over new inventions easily; they have made economic adjustments, but their major difficulty lies in their position as an underprivileged economic class.
- ed. *Indians of the Urban Northwest*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. xx, 370. Twelve of the fourteen chapters pertain to Canadian Indians and are listed separately.
- and LEADBEATER, DOROTHY. Salish Coiled Baskets (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 111-32). This study includes both the technical processes of Salish basketry manufacture, which are described superbly, and also the spread of basketry from area to area, a significant factor in tracing cultural interactions.
- SNYDERMAN, GEORGE S. Concepts of Land Ownership among the Iroquois and Their Neighbors (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 13-34). The Iroquois regarded land as an inalienable gift from the Creator, a gift belonging to future generations as well as to the present. This concept greatly influenced relations with the white man during the Colonial period; though modified by changing conditions, this basic attitude is still important in contemporary Iroquois groups.
- Some Ideological Aspects of Present Day Seneca Folklore (*Primitive Man*, XXIV (3), July, 1951, 37-46). Seneca folk-tales reflect the attitude of these (Iroquois) Indians towards nature, and serve a function in inculcating these attitudes in children.
- SOLECKI, RALPH S. Additional Data on the Denbigh Flint Complex in Northern

- Alaska (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XLI (3), March, 1951, 85-8). The discovery, near a pass through the Brooks Range in northern Alaska, of stone tools resembling an early type found near the north end of Bering Sea, provides a clue to an early migration route.
- Archaeology and Geology in Northwestern Alaska (*Earth Science Digest*, IV (7), 1950, 3-7).
- How Man Came to North America (*Scientific American*, CLXXXIV (1), Jan., 1951, 11-15). Recent archaeological work in Alaska has provided significant information on the coming of man to America towards the end of the last Ice Age.
- Notes on Two Archaeological Discoveries in Northern Alaska, 1950 (*American Antiquity*, XVII (1, part 1), July, 1951, 55-7). A description of two pre-Eskimo artifacts from northern Alaska which may be of value in tracing the route of early migrants to the continent.
- SPECK, FRANK G. How the Dew Eagle Society of the Allegany Seneca Cured Cahédagowa (F.G.S.) (*Primitive Man*, XXII (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1949, 39-59). A description of a curing ceremony performed on, and for, the author, an adopted member of the clan, by the Seneca of New York State in 1949.
- and DEXTER, RALPH W. Utilization of Animals and Plants by the Micmac Indians of New Brunswick (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XLI (8), Aug., 1951, 250-9). The Micmac of eastern New Brunswick depended largely on animal food, principally fish, shell-fish, and marine mammals.
- SWADESH, MORRIS. Kleinschmidt Centennial III: Unaaliq and Proto Eskimo (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (2), April, 1951, 66-70). A linguistic study of an Eskimo dialect, with comparative data.
- The Linguistic Approach to Salish Prehistory (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 161-74). Degrees of similarity between Coast Salish languages offer a clue to the degree of relationship, or at least of contact, between the coastal tribes of Washington and southern British Columbia.
- Salish Internal Relationships (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVI (4), Oct., 1950, 157-67). A statistical analysis of the degree of relationship among the Salish languages of British Columbia, the degree of relationship providing a basis for estimating the period of separation of the different tribes of this stock.
- TAUBE, EDWARD. Wild Rice (*Scientific Monthly*, LXXIII (6), Dec., 1951, 369-75). A description of wild rice, including how it was collected and prepared by the Indians of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Ontario.
- THALBITZER, WILLIAM. Two Runic Stones, from Greenland and Minnesota. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, CXVI (3). Washington: Smithsonian Institution (Publication 4021). Aug. 30, 1951. Pp. 71. This is an important contribution to the literature of the Kensington Stone of Minnesota. The author, a distinguished Danish scholar, disagrees completely with the views of his compatriot, Moltke (reviewed in this bibliography), who dismissed it as a forgery of the 1890's. Thalbitzer gives a detailed analysis of the runic symbols and finds that they are not incompatible with the fourteenth-century date of the inscription. While scientifically cautious in his approach, he tends to believe that the stone is genuine, and therefore a record of Scandinavian penetration to Minnesota in 1362. A stone from Greenland with runic inscriptions is less contentious, and less important.

- THOMPSON, LAURA. Personality and Government: Findings and Recommendations of the Indian Administration Research (*América Indígena*, XI (3), julio, 1951, 235-69). This final instalment of a far-reaching and comprehensive study of Indian administration and Indian adjustments in the United States is worthy of serious consideration in Canada.
- VOEGELIN, C. F. A Query on the Nominal Origin of Verb Stems in Athapaskan (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (2), April, 1951, 80-3). A comparative study of verb forms in the Athapaskan languages.
- and HARRIS, ZELIG S. Methods for Determining Intelligibility among Dialects of Natural Languages (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (3), June, 1951, 322-9). A study based upon analysis of Indian languages and dialects.
- VOGET, FRED. Acculturation at Caughnawaga: A Note on the Native-Modified Group. (*American Anthropologist*, LIII (2), April-June, 1951, 220-31). An acute study of internal groups and their reactions to the process of acculturation at an Iroquois village near Montreal.
- WALLACE, ANTHONY F. C. The Frank G. Speck Collection (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (3), June, 1951, 286-9). The papers, manuscripts, and documents of the late Frank G. Speck have been catalogued and made available in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. They represent the life accumulation of a scholar whose goal was research, and whose field was the Indians of eastern America, from Hudson Bay to Florida.
- Some Psychological Determinants of Culture Change in an Iroquoian Community (*Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. WILLIAM N. FENTON, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, Washington, 1951, 55-76). This is an important study of deep-seated Iroquois personality attitudes; some of these have facilitated integration into the modern white culture, while others have had a retarding effect.
- and REYBURN, WILLIAM D. Crossing the Ice: A Migration Legend of the Tuscarora Indians (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, XVII (1), Jan., 1951, 42-7). The text and translation of a Tuscarora (Iroquois) myth.
- WALLACE, PAUL A. W. They Knew the Indian: The Men Who Wrote the Moravian Records (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (3), June 12, 1951, 290-5). The records of the Moravian missionaries from 1742 to 1836 contain a great deal of valuable contemporary information about the Iroquois and adjacent tribes.
- WILFORD, LOYD. History of the Chippewa (*Minnesota Archaeologist*, XVII (2), April, 1951, 3-10). A popular summary of Ojibwa (Chippewa) history from the period of European contact.
- WINGERT, PAUL S. Coast Salish Painting (*Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. MARIAN W. SMITH, New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, 77-92). Coast Salish painting is characterized by the decoration of flat boards, used in social or religious rituals; artistically, three regional specializations can be recognized.
- WITTHOFT, JOHN. Iroquois Archaeology at the Mid-Century (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV (3), June, 1951, 311-21). A scholarly appraisal of present knowledge of Iroquois archaeology, with observations upon problems needing further research.
- ZEUNER, F. E. Archaeological Dating by Radioactive Carbon (*Science Progress*, April, 1951, 225-38). A description of the use of carbon 14 in dating archaeological sites.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

The Association meeting this year will be held at Laval University, Quebec, from June 4 to 6. It is tentatively proposed that registration will begin at 3.30 P.M., Wednesday, June 4. Since there will be no residence accommodation available at Laval, members will be responsible for confirming their own hotel reservations.

INDEX TO THE CONFEDERATION DEBATES

In publishing this index to the great debates of 1865 the Public Archives have performed a most valuable service for the Canadian historian. It is organized on a subject basis, and under subject not only gives page references for the relevant remarks but indicates who made them. The *Index* is preceded by a brief introduction by Professor F. R. Scott, who first suggested its compilation.

THE BEAVERBROOK SCHOLARSHIP FOR NEW BRUNSWICK-MAINE STUDIES

The University of New Brunswick has announced that a scholarship amounting to \$750 a year will be available to a young scholar who will study the historical relations of New Brunswick with Maine and the United States. The award may be renewed for a second academic year if the qualifications of the recipient appear to warrant it. The applicant must enroll as a candidate for the Master's degree. Application must be made on or before April 15 to the Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, University of New Brunswick.

THE ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

The seventh annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close on June 1, 1952. Established in 1945, the fellowship has a cash value of \$1,000 and also provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honourable mention may also be awarded to one or more additional manuscripts, and this award, too, carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Dorothy Burne Goebel, Department of History, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

THE HISTORIC SITES AND MONUMENTS BOARD OF CANADA

A bronze tablet in honour of Sir John Carling, federal Minister of Agriculture, 1885-92, was unveiled at London on December 4, 1951. The tablet, erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, emphasizes the contribution which Sir John made to Canadian agriculture by the establishment of the Dominion Experimental Farms.

CANADIAN AGENT FOR UNESCO

In response to many inquiries, the University of Toronto Press wishes to remind readers that the Press is now Canadian agent for UNESCO publications. A checklist of publications available may be had directly from the Press. Recent publications of interest to historians include: *Better History Textbooks*, 10 cents; *Democracy in a World of Tensions*, \$2.50; *Human Rights Exhibition Album*, \$3.00; *Monuments and Sites of History and Art and Archaeological Excavations*, \$1.50; *Racial Myths*, 25 cents.

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

Volume XVII, for 1949, of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* has recently appeared. This important work attempts to list in annual volumes all the more significant historical books and articles appearing all over the world. Volume XVIII represents thirty countries that collaborate in the project, including Canada, and the number of countries concerned is steadily increasing. This interest in the preparation of the *Bibliography* indicates its growing world importance. We publish this note in order to bring this unique international project to the attention of those of our readers who may not have heard of it. Inquiries concerning the *Bibliography* should be addressed to Mme Dr J. Sztachova, Directrice du Bureau de Rédaction de l'I.B.O.H.S., 65 rue de Richelieu, Paris, France.

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND MUSEUMS

The *Public Archives of Canada*, as well as publishing the above-mentioned *Index*, have issued the first of a series of inventories which will describe in some detail all the collections in the Manuscript Division of the Archives. The material in the Division has been divided into official and non-official categories, or "Record Groups" and "Manuscript Groups." This first publication covers "Record Group 10," and deals with the records of the Indian Affairs Branch and its predecessors. Individuals may receive copies of these inventories on request. Details of the series will be given each year in the annual report of the Archives.

Canadian Library Association. The Association has continued its valuable project of microfilming Canadian newspapers until now sixty titles are listed in its most recent catalogue, that of 1951. They represent 715 years of newspapers. An interesting report on this project by R. M. Hamilton, Acting Chairman of the Microfilm Committee, may be found in the *Bulletin* of the Canadian Library Association for November, 1951. Inquiries concerning the microfilms should be directed to Mrs. John C. Macdonald, Secretary, Microfilm Committee, Canadian Library Association, Room 49, 46 Elgin Street, Ottawa.

Excavations carried out by the *National Museum of Canada* may have uncovered the actual site of the battle of the Long Sault in 1660. Evidence so far obtained is not conclusive, but it would seem to warrant submission of the matter to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

The Archives of the Séminaire de Trois-Rivières. These archives, founded and largely built up by the work of Mgr Albert Tessier, Archivist of the Diocese of Trois-Rivières, cover a period of about 175 years. The large and well-catalogued manuscript section is especially rich in the history of the region, and contains, for example, the Hart Collection concerning that great commercial family of Trois-Rivières. The library section of the archives was increased by 800 volumes during the past year. This year, in connection with the centenary

celebration of the diocese, efforts are being directed towards making the collection of local letters and documents as full as possible.

The *Chatham-Kent Museum* has been expanding steadily during the past year. The schools are taking advantage of a systematic scheduling of classes in the Museum. Its work is closely integrated with that of the Kent Historical Society, and during the year the Society, through the Museum's curator, compiled and published the seventh booklet in the series on Kent County history. The officers of the Museum include Dr. C. C. Bell, Chairman, Dr. E. M. Milner, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. W. N. Sexsmith, Curator.

The New Brunswick Museum. The Museum's *Annual Report* for 1950 states that the late Dr. J. Clarence Webster, who in his life did so much for that institution, left most of his estate as a trust fund for the Museum. Two-thirds of the fund's income will be used for the Canadian History Department and one-third for the Art Department.

The *Saskatchewan Archives* has issued a *Historical Directory of Saskatchewan Newspapers*, the first effort ever made to compile a list of all the newspapers published in the province in the period since 1878, when the first paper, *The Saskatchewan Herald*, was established. No attempt has been made to indicate where holdings of these newspapers may be found, but the *Directory* should aid in the efforts of the provincial archives to locate files for micro-filming.

University of Western Ontario, Lawson Memorial Library. *Western Ontario History Nuggets*, no. 16, published by this Library, contains Part I of the journal of William Pope, the western Ontario painter of birds. It describes a voyage the author made to America from England in 1834. Recent numbers of the Library's *Historical Notes* contain sketches of Colonel Talbot reprinted from a St. Thomas paper of 1855 (March, 1951) and a series of articles on the early history of the town of London (September, 1951).

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver. The journal of this association, *Museum & Art Notes*, for November, 1951 contains an interesting article on "Pioneer Wesleyan Missionaries to British Columbia" by E. S. Robson, along with others concerned with anthropology, archaeology, and geology in British Columbia.

Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society. Recent papers delivered before this society were "Rivers and Roads in Lincoln County" by Mrs. R. J. Powell, "The Indian in Canadian Literature" by Mrs. E. Brant Monture, and "Historic Lore of the Six Nations Indians" by Miss Jean Waldie. President, Miss N. L. Edwards; Secretary, J. M. Cowan.

Kent Historical Society. Victor Lauriston, a Vice-President of the society, is in process of publishing a work on Kent County history. President, J. F. Fletcher; Secretary, E. M. Milner.

Kingston Historical Society. The society operated the Murney Martello tower as a museum during the summer months. A paper was recently presented on "The Disposal of the Kingston Battlefleet of the War of 1812" by R. A. Preston. President, Lt. Col. C. M. Strange; Secretary, R. A. Preston.

Leeds and Grenville Historical Society. The society is being reorganized. Its president, Lt. Col. F. C. Curry, recently published an article on "St. Lawrence Steamboat Days" in *Inland Seas*.

Nova Scotia Historical Society. Volume 29 of the *Collections* of the society has recently been published. It includes the following papers: "The Hon. John Salusbury, 1707-62" by J. G. Adshead, "Sidelights on the Chesapeake Affair" by G. H. Cox, "The Influence of Scottish Clergy on Early Education in Cape Breton" by Mrs. L. M. Toward, and "The Sandemanian Loyalists" by C. St. C. Stayner. President, D. C. Harvey; Secretary, W. L. Payzant.

Société historique de la Chaudière. Volume IV of *Généalogies des familles de Beauce, Dorchester, Frontenac, Levis* has recently been published by the society, and can be purchased through the Secretary of the society, Brother Eloi-Gérard, at Sacred Heart's College, Beauceville, Que.

Société historique de Montréal. President, Msgr Olivier Maurault; Secretary, Miss Gabrielle Carrière; Treasurer, Gastone Derome.

Société historique de Québec. The society has now published the third of its "Cahiers d'histoire," entitled *Notre Héritage historique*, by S. Dumas and M. Trudel. Its members have contributed articles to several journals and periodicals in the past year. President, Hon. C.-F. Delâge; Secretary, Abbé H. Provost.

York-Sunbury Historical Society. The society has expectations of a new museum to house its expanding collection. A recent paper presented was "Maugerville Schools 1763-1951" by Mrs. F. Miles. The society's historian, Mrs. L. M. Maxwell, has recently produced a volume, *'Round New Brunswick Roads*. President, Dr. D. J. MacLeod; Secretary, Mrs. L. M. Maxwell.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID M. L. FARR is on leave of absence from Carleton College, Ottawa, and is at present holding a Nuffield Studentship at New College, Oxford. He is engaged in a study of the political relations between Great Britain and Canada, 1867-87.

W. R. GRAHAM is Assistant Professor of History at Regina College, University of Saskatchewan.

K. W. McNAUGHT, on leave of absence from United College, Winnipeg, is Associate Professor of History at Queen's University.

MAJOR DUANE C. TWAY is Associate Professor of World Political Geography at the University of California at Los Angeles.

CLIFFORD WILSON is Editor of *The Beaver* and Curator of the Hudson's Bay Company Museum. He is author of *Adventurers All* (1933) and editor of *New North in Pictures* (1947).

